THE LIFE AND WORK OF SYED AHMED KHAN

G. F. I. GRAHAM

IAD ORIENTAL SERIES : 29

THE LIFE AND WORK

OF

SYED AHMED KHAN

C. S. I.

BY

LIEUT. COLONEL G. F. I. GRAHAM

B. S. C.

IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI

2009, QASIMJAN STREET, DELHI-6
(INDIA)

IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI
2009, QASIMJAN STREET, DELHI-6

FIRST EDITION 1885
REPRINT 1974

Price Rs. 50.00

PRINTED IN INDIA

PUBLISHED BY MOHAMMAD AHMAD FOR IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI, 2009, QASIMJAN STREET, DELHI.6 AND PRINTED AT JAYYED PRESS, BALLIMARAN, DELHI-6.

SYED AHMED KHAN

PREFACE.

In September last, happening to be on a visit to Syed Ahmed Khan at Allygurh, I asked him for some particulars of his youth and early manhood, as I wished to write an article on the subject of his life and work. He acceded to my request, and on returning to Agra I commenced my task. The subject-matter increased so largely, however—the appetite growing with what it fed on—that I deemed it better to abandon the original idea, and rather write a short sketch of his life in book form for the benefit of the youth of this country and the information of many people at home who are interested in India and its natives. In October I was invited by Syed Ahmed to meet the Nawab Salar Jang, the Minister of Hyderabad, at Allygurh, and it was then that I asked Syed Ahmed to allow me to write the sketch of his life. He was at first very

averse to the undertaking, saying characteristically, "No life!—no life yet!" On my pointing out to him, however—as his numerous friends sincerely hope may prove to be the case—that he would probably live for many years, and that the next ten or fifteen years would in all probability be most important ones for India's Mohammedans, while the effect upon the present youth of India, her future men, of a sketch of his long, blameless, interesting, and honourable life, would be most beneficial, he considered for a few moments, and then said, "I put myself entirely in your hands." His full biography has yet to be written; but for the present I trust that this small contribution of mine—a labour of love to me—may prove useful to the rising generation of this country, and at the same time not be without interest perhaps for the general public at home and in India. The reason why this has been a labour of love to me is, that for nearly a quarter of a century I have known Syed Ahmed more like a relative, I may say, than a friend. I have been associated with him in many of his literary works, and the longer and more I have known him, the greater has been my respect and esteem for him.

G. F. I. GRAHAM.

AGRA, *Jan.* 6, 1885.

TO

CHARLES ALFRED ELLIOTT,

C.S.I., B.C.S.,

CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF ASSAM,

THIS SKETCH OF OUR MUTUAL FRIEND,

SYED AHMED KHAN,

IS DEDICATED.

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LIFE AND WORK

OF

SYED AHMED KHAN

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND FAMILY—THE OLD COURT OF DELHI—ENTERS THE BRITISH SERVICE—ARCHÆOLOGICAL HISTORY OF DELHI.

SYED AHMED KHAN, since the death of Sir Salar Jang the foremost Mohammedan in India as regards force of character, influence over his fellow-men, and literary ability, was born at Delhi on the 17th October 1817. His paternal and maternal ancestors were men of mark under the Mogul empire. His great-great-grandfather, Syed Hadi, was a native of Herat, who afterwards settled in Hindustan. His grandson, Syed Ahmed's grandfather, in the reign of Alamgir II.

was given the titles of Jowahid Ali Khan and Jowadud Dowla, commander of 1000 foot and 500 horsemen, each of the latter having two or three horses.[1] Syed Ahmed Khan's father, Syed Mohomad Takki, was a recluse—a man of deep religious feeling—and, on his father's death,[2] declined all titles from the Emperor, though offered those of his father.

Syed Ahmed's maternal grandfather was Khwajeh Fariduddin Ahmed, a man of great ability, who went to Calcutta about the year 1791, and accompanied the embassy sent in 1799 by Lord Wellesley to Persia as *attaché.* On his return to Calcutta he was appointed Political Officer at the Court of Ava, where he stayed some years, returned to Calcutta, and revisited his native city after a prolonged absence. Once more, in the reign of Akbar II., we find him at Calcutta. Soon afterwards Syed Ahmed Khan's father was offered the prime-ministership by the Emperor; but he thanked his Majesty for this signal mark of his favour, and respectfully represented that his father-in-law at Calcutta was the best man for the post. Akbar acted upon his advice, sent for Khwajeh Fariduddin, and made him Prime Minister, with the title of Nawab Dabir

[1] Persian of this is, "Hazarizat o Panj seh Sawar do o seh aspa."
[2] Titles were not hereditary under the Mogul empire.

ud Dowla[1] Amin ul Mulk Khwajeh Fariduddin Khan Bahadur Masleh Jang.[2] The Emperor, although a ruler but in name, clung with Eastern tenacity to the empty pomp of a Court, and titles were still of as great value in his and his courtiers' estimation as they had been in the palmy days of the Mogul empire. General Ochterlony was at this time the British Resident at Delhi, and he and the Prime Minister and Syed Ahmed Khan s father were close allies, the General being in the habit of visiting them at all hours of the day and night.

The Syed has an interesting relic of those days in the shape of a photograph of a picture taken by the then Court painter, the original being now in the possession of the artist's descendants at Delhi. In this, amongst the crowd of princes and nobles who are represented standing in two lines in front of the Emperor, are the figures of General Ochterlony and the Prime Minister side by side. The General is in full dress, cocked-hat on head, leaning on the *jarib*, or "staff of honour," given him by the Emperor. The Prime Minister has also the *jarib* in his hand. The scene is the famous *Diwan-i-Aam* or "general audience-hall"

[1] There were three orders of nobility: 1st, those ending with "ul Mulk," which corresponds to our duke; 2d, those ending in "ud Dowla," or earl and 3d, those ending in "Jang," or baron.

[2] Trustee of the country and instructor of war.

in the palace at Delhi, and the Emperor is depicted seated in state on the celebrated peacock throne. Khwajeh Fariduddin held the prime-ministership for eight or nine years.

Syed Ahmed, when about six years old, one day ran from the women's apartments to his grandfather's rooms, where, perceiving General Ochterlony seated with him, he turned to go back, but was recalled, and told to go and speak to the General. General Ochterlony took him on his knee, and after a little, the young Syed quietly asked him why he wore feathers in his hat (the General had been to Court and was in full dress), and so many gold buttons on his coat. The General was much amused at the youngster's curiosity, which remained ungratified. General Ochterlony not long after this—*i.e.*, in 1825—died of a broken heart at his supersession by Metcalfe. Khwajeh Fariduddin did not long survive him, as he died in the following year. Syed Ahmed's father, Syed Mohomad Takki, was the most intimate of the Emperor's friends, and the only one permitted to sit in his presence. Etiquette prevented any one from sitting; so the Emperor, who sat on a small square platform with his legs crossed, would quietly let one foot hang down, and Syed Mohomad Takki would seat himself on the ground on the pretence of shampooing it:

etiquette and convenience were thus mutually served. When a youth, Syed Ahmed used to be constantly in the palace, and often received robes of honour from the Emperor. One morning, when he should have been at Court to receive one of these marks of royal favour, he overslept himself. His horse, an old Deccani one, thirty years old, but still full of spirit, was brought to the door, and the Syed rode slowly — being afraid of its running away —to the palace. The official whose duty it was to give out the robes of honour in which the recipients appeared before the Emperor, called to him to be quick, put on his robe, and Syed Ahmed hurried into the presence. He found that the Emperor had risen from the throne and had entered the species of sedan-chair in which he used to be carried about the palace. Syed Ahmed's name, as was the custom, was called out by the chamberlain, and the Emperor mentioned his being late to the Syed's father, who was standing by him. The Emperor was not displeased, however, and after proceeding a short distance, stopped in the picture-chamber and sent for Syed Ahmed, took him by the hand, and asked him why he was late. The Syed replied that he had overslept himself, and that, as he was afraid of his horse running away with him, he had been delayed on the road. The

courtiers were aghast at his daring to tell the truth, and hinted to him the necessity of saying something complimentary to the Emperor; but Syed Ahmed insisted that it was nothing but the truth, and that he could give no other answer. The child was the father of the man. The Emperor laughed heartily, and himself invested the Syed with the usual necklace of pearls, and the jewel of honour for the head. The respect and esteem in which Syed Ahmed's father was held by the courtiers were enhanced by the Emperor's graciousness to his son.

On Khwajeh Fariduddin's death, Mohomad Takki Khan, as was the custom, went on the third day after the death to Court to receive the usual *khilat*, or robe of honour, which was given by the Emperor to denote that the time for mourning was over. Shah Alam was then on the throne, but the empire was in ruins. The Emperor sent his chamberlain to Mohomad Takki with a message to the effect that he would be presented with the usual *khilat* the next day in Durbar. Syed Ahmed's father sent back the message, that "as there is no army, and no place to fight, what is the use of the titles [his father in-law's] to me?"

On his father's death in 1836, Syed Ahmed, who was then nineteen years old, was invested by Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Delhi, with

his grandfather's titles, and with the additional one of Arif Jang, or Master of War. The only time that he was engaged in war—*i.e.*, in the Mutiny—he certainly did his best to do credit to his title. Syed Ahmed was educated at first at home by his mother, who up to his twelfth year used to make him repeat to her at night what he had learnt during the day. He learnt no English. In January 1837 he stopped his education, and, greatly against the inclination of his relatives, entered the British service as Shiristehdar of the Criminal Department in the Sadr Amin's office at Delhi. In February 1839 he was transferred to Agra as Naib Munshi or deputy reader in the office of the Commissioner of that Division, Mr (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton. In December 1841 he became Munsif or Sub-Judge of Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's capital for ten years, now famous for its ruins, and was transferred to Delhi in January 1846. The following letter from Sir Robert Hamilton is interesting, as showing that Syed Ahmed had already commenced his literary labours:—

MY DEAR LINDSAY,—It is not my habit to introduce people, but the bearer has been studying for employment, and you will see the fruits of his labours in his "Transcript and Analysis of the Regulations." He is of good family, and I had intended to give him a situation, which he deserves for his assiduity and exertions,

if you will do something for him [*sic*]. He is very timid, but clever. Named Syed Ahmed.

COLIN LINDSAY, Esquire.

This letter is undated, but must have been written prior to the year 1846. There is no trace of timidity in Syed Ahmed now! In 1847 he wrote his second literary work, the 'Archæological History of the Ruins of Delhi.' This was but coldly received in England; but on a French translation of it by M. Garcin de Tassy appearing, it was appreciated according to its merits, and afterwards, in 1864, procured for Syed Ahmed the honour of a Fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following is the letter conferring this distinction upon him :—

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
5 NEW BURLINGTON STREET, LONDON,
20th July 1864.

DEAR SIR,—I have great pleasure in bringing to your notice that at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, held on July 4th, you were unanimously created an honorary member of the Society. The diploma seconding your election will be sent out to you as soon as a safe opportunity offers. In congratulating you on this well-deserved mark of distinction, I trust it may be gratifying to you to know that your researches on Indian antiquities are duly appreciated, both in this country and abroad.—I have, &c., your most obedient servant, REINHOLD ROST, *Secretary.*

A second edition of this work appeared in 1854.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF DELHI—SUBORDINATE JUDGE OF BIJNORE.

Syed Ahmed commences his 'Archæological History' with a list of 142 Hindu and 59 Mohammedan rulers of Delhi from the year 1400 B.C. up to 1853 A.D. He then gives a list of the various cities and forts which have composed it—nineteen in all. The name "Delhi" has been variously accounted for, some historians thinking that it was named after Dhalip, a ruler of Oudh, who lived prior to Raja Judishter, the first sovereign of Delhi mentioned by Syed Ahmed. Our author, however, does not believe this, as in old Hindu histories the city is always called "Inderpristh" He is of opinion that it was called after Raja Dehlu of Kanauj to whom the Rajas of Inderpristh owed allegiance, and that its original name was Dehlu. This was about the time of the arrival of Alexander the Great, as Raja Dehlu was slain in battle by Kaja Puru (the Porus of

Alexander), who was afterwards defeated by the great conqueror on the Sutlej. This, our author says, points to the date of the city being called Dehlu, being about the year 328 B.C.

The Old Fort, situated about two miles to the south-east of the city, is said in the 'Ain Akbari' to have been built by Raja Anakpal Tonuri in the year 372 A.D., and other later historians have all taken this as correct. Syed Ahmed, however, points out the error of the author of the 'Ain Akbari,' as in the year 372 Anakpal was not the ruler, Raja Bhim Chand ruling from 368 to 380 A.D., and Anakpal not coming to the throne till the year 676 A.D., when, as Syed Ahmed points out, he built this fort.

The Fort of Rai Pithora, the Chowhan Thakur ruler, was built by him in the year 1147 A.D. Although now in ruins, walls, &c., still remain, as also traces of embankments which served to store up water sufficient for the yearly wants of the inhabitants. Syed Ahmed measured the height of the remaining wall to the west, and found it to be sixty-five feet high.

The Ghazni Gate Fortification was called so from the fact that the Ghazni army entered the city through it. It is supposed to have been erected by Raja Rai Pithora.

The "White Palace" Fort, inside the last-

named fort, was built by Kutub-ud-din Aibak in 1205 A.D.; and in it, at a grand Durbar in 1241 A.D., occurred the murder of Malik Ikhtyar-ud-din, the Prime Minister of Moiz-ud-din Bairam Shah. In it Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, son of Shamsh-ud-din Altamsh, was crowned; and here also the ambassador of Hailaki Khan was received by Sultan Nasir-ud-din in 1259 A.D.—the assembly to meet him being very numerous and imposing. Sultan Ghias-ud-din Balban was also crowned here. No trace of the fort is now to be found.

The Hell Fort.—There is one thing that Syed Ahmed tells of this building, which reminds one of the Sanctuary at Holyrood. "In Ghias-ud-din Balin's time it was the custom that any malefactor who succeeded in getting into this fort could not be arrested." Its extraordinary name is not due to its builder, Sultan Ghias-ud-din Balin, as it was called by him Ghiaspur in 1267 A.D., the year that it was built. Succeeding generations must have given it this nickname.

The Noble Palace.—This palace was built by Sultan Moiz-ud-din Kai Kobad in 1286 A.D., and is famous as the resting-place of Humayum, the grandfather of Akbar the Great. The poet Amir Khusroh in the 'Koran ul Sadin' says, "I call this not a palace—I call it Paradise."

The Palace of the Thousand Pillars.—This was built by Ala-ud-din Khilji in 1303 A.D, and in it thousands of the conquered Moguls were trampled to death by elephants, their heads being thrown in a heap outside the fort gate. It was also here, in 1311 A.D., that the Emperor received the prodigious plunder taken from the Carnatic, —*i.e.*, 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96 maunds (each 80 lb.) of gold, and hundreds of boxes filled with gold ornaments, pearls, and other jewels. It makes one's mouth water to think of such riches!

Toghlakabad.—Ghias-ud-din Toghlak Shah commenced this city and fort in 1321 A.D., and it was finished with great rejoicings in 1323 A.D. Syed Ahmed says that it is supposed to have consisted of fifty-six detached forts, and to have had fifty-two gates; but it is in such a ruinous state now that it was impossible for him to verify this. Toghlakabad is twelve miles east of Delhi.

The Adilabad, alias *Mohommedabad or Thousand Pillars Fort*, was built in 1327 A.D. by Sultan Mahomed Adil Toghlak Shah close to Toghlakabad. Its thousand pillars were of marble, and it was built more as a pleasure-house than a fort.

The Firoz Shaḥ Fort was built by the ruler of that name in 1354, and he brought to it the famous "pillar of Asoka" from Nohra in Khizra-

bad. This ruler also in this year commenced a new city called Firozabad, close to Delhi, which attained to a great size. It was five *kos*[1] long.

The Shooting Palace was built by Firoz Shah about 3 *kos* distant from Firozabad, and it was before it that the hosts of Timour encamped for the first time in 1398 A.D., before they attacked Delhi itself. There, also, is the second *lat* or pillar of Asoka, brought by Firoz Shah from the neighbourhood of Mirat.

The Mobarikabad Fort was commenced by Sultan Mobarik Shah in 1433 A.D., and he used personally to superintend its erection. Before it was finished, however, he was murdered in it by his nobles, who placed Mohomed Shah on the throne. It is commonly supposed that the site of this fort is where the tomb of Mobarik Shah faces that of Safder Jang, near which is the village called Mobarikpur Kotila. Syed Ahmed, however, does not agree to this, for the following reason. He says—" In the histories of that time it is distinctly said that Mobarik Shah built this fort on the banks of the river; and as it is undoubted that no river then ran alongside Mobarikpur Kotila, it therefore follows that the popular opinion as to the site of this fort is wrong. In my opinion, the real spot is the village of

[1] A *kos* varies, according to the locality, from one and a half to two miles.

Mobarikpur Rethi (Sandy), on the banks of the Jumna."

The foregoing extracts have been taken from the first and second chapters of Syed Ahmed's work. In his third chapter he gives a description of the iron *lat* or pillar made by Raja Dhawa in the year 895 B.C., now at the Kutub; the Asoka pillar, called that of Firoz Shah, made by Raja Asoka in 298 B.C., now in the Firoz Shah Fort; the Asoka pillar, made by the same Raja in the same year, now at the Shooting Palace; the Anekpar Fort, built by Anekpal Tomar (a Rajput) in 676 A.D.; the Anek tank, built by Anekpal in 676 A.D.; the "Sun tank," built by Surajpal in 686 A.D.; the temple at the Kutub; and a number of other places,—amounting in all to 134.

The iron pillar at the Kutub is ornamented at the top. Its height is 22 feet 6 inches, and its girth is 5 feet 3 inches. There is a story to the effect that in Rai Pithora's time the pundits had buried this pillar on the head of Raja Bassik (according to Hindus, the Lord of the earth), in order that Rai Pithora's successors should always reign. This, however, is all nonsense, Syed Ahmed says. Three Sanskrit Slokes in the Nagri character are engraved on this pillar, and their meaning is, that the ruler of Scinde attacked

Raja Dhawa with his army, but was defeated; that the Raja made this pillar as a memento of his victory, but died before it was completed. Mr James Prinsep writes that very little is known of this Raja, except that he was one of the Hastanapur Rajas. He says that the Nagri character in which the inscriptions on the pillar are written, was in vogue in the third and fourth centuries after Christ; but he is of opinion that the pillar was made in the eighth century A.D. Syed Ahmed joins issue with Mr Prinsep on this point, and says that the history of the Rajas from 676 A.D., up to the time of the Mohammedan conquest, is complete and of undoubted credibility, and in them there is no mention of this Raja. Besides this, the fact of the date not being on the pillar proves to Syed Ahmed's satisfaction that it must have been made prior to the time of Bikrmajit (11 A.D.), as after that ruler it was invariably the custom to mark the year of the completion of any work on it. Besides this, in the eighth century the Hastanapur dynasty had been long extinct. For these reasons, Syed Ahmed thinks there can be no doubt as to the fact of its being of the time of Raja Dhawa, who was the nineteenth Raja of the Judishter dynasty; and although he had come to reside at Iuderpristh, his ancient capital was Hastanapur. and he was for this reason called the

Hastanapur Raja. He was of the Bishnavi sect, and this is proved by what is written on the pillar. Many histories make out that Raja Dhawa ruled in the year 1905 B.C.; but English historians who have correctly worked out the time of Raja Judishter, prove that Raja Dhawa's reign commenced in the year 895 B.C. Syed Ahmed also thinks that the pillar was at first incomplete, but that later on some Raja inscribed the present inscription on it, in order to show why Raja Dhawa had had it made, and that this Raja then placed the pillar in the ground, probably in either the third or fourth century after Christ. When Raja Rai Pithora built a fort and temple, this pillar was included in the latter; and when Kutub-ud-din Aibak destroyed the temple and built a mosque, it was included in the latter. There it still stands.

The Asoka, or Firoz Shah pillar, is of stone, and was one of five, one of which was at Radhia, one at Mahtab, one at Allahabad, one near Mirat, and the fifth at the village of Nohreh. All five were made by Raja Asokah, *alias* Biassi; and on it there are two inscriptions—the first with this Raja's name on it—both written in the Pali and Sanskrit languages. The letters are very old—prior to those of the Deonagri type. The inscriptions teach the Buddhist tenets—tell us not

to harm any living thing, and not to punish malefactors with death or the cutting off of a limb. For many centuries no one could read this; and Firoz Shah was also unable to decipher it, although he assembled many pundits for the purpose. Mr James Prinsep discovered the key, and he says that Raja Asoka was the grandson of Chander Gupta, and the Subahdar of Ujein, and that he began to reign in the year 325 B.C. He constructed this pillar in the year 298 B.C. Mohammedan historians say that this Raja was a Cashmere Raja, and that the whole of Hindustan, including Canouj, was under him. There was some discussion on religious matters, which his subjects resented, and dethroned him. Owing to the religious tone of the inscription on this pillar, it is pretty certain that it was made by the Raja Asoka, who was ruler of Cashmere. These historians say that this ruler was on the throne in the year 1373 B.C., but Syed Ahmed agrees with Mr Prinsep as to the date of his reign. The second inscription on it is by Beldeo Chowhan, who was formerly Beldeo Raja of Samber, the birthplace of the Chowhans, and who inscribed his name on this pillar. Assembling an army, he attacked and conquered the Tenurs, who were the rulers of Delhi. In the year 1163 A.D., Rai Pithora inscribed on this pillar the victories of

his ancestors in the Nagri writing and Sanskrit tongue.

The foregoing summary will be sufficient to show the nature of the contents of this work, and to bear witness to Syed Ahmed's labour and power of research.

In 1850, Syed Ahmed was posted to Rohtak as subordinate judge; and in 1855 he was transferred in the same capacity to Bijnore, where he remained till the Mutiny broke out in May 1857.

CHAPTER III.

THE MUTINY AT BIJNORE — ATTACK ON THE JAIL — INTERVIEWS WITH A REBEL CHIEF—ESCAPE OF THE EUROPEANS —MADE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE DISTRICT — ESCAPE TO MEERUT—VISIT TO HIS ANCESTRAL HOME IN DELHI—REWARDS FOR SERVICES.

DURING the anxious weeks that the English ladies, gentlemen, and children remained in Bijnore, Syed Ahmed Khan did all that man could do to render their stay safe, and was ultimately the means of saving the whole party. As Sir John Strachey, late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, said of him in a speech at Allygurh, on the 11th December 1880: "No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857: no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed." A short account of what he did do on this memorable occasion may prove interesting. When the news of the Meerut

mutiny reached Bijnore on the 13th May, there were the following European residents at that place: Mr and Mrs Shakespeare, C.S., and child; Mr Palmer; Dr and Mrs Knight; Mr R. Currie, C.S.; Mr Lemaistre, Mrs Lemaistre, and three children; Mr Johnson; Mr and Mrs Murphy, and four children; and Mr Cawood. Syed Ahmed was Mr Shakespeare's right hand in raising a body of 100 Pathan horse and foot; and he also organised an intelligence department, which brought daily news from Muradabad and Bareilly.

About the end of May the bad characters of the neighbouring villages attacked the jail. Some of the prisoners escaped; but the jail-guards fired at and dispersed their assailants, and a large number of the prisoners remained in custody. Syed Ahmed, Mr Shakespeare, and others, ran over on foot and aided in the suppression of the *émeute*. Apprehensive of the safety of the treasure, Syed Ahmed, with the consent of the Magistrate, had it all thrown into a well. A few days afterwards, when the Roorkee mutineers reached Bijnore, matters became very critical. Two of their subadars or native officers had an interview with Mr Shakespeare and Syed Ahmed, and it was mainly owing to the arguments of the latter that they left the Europeans unmolested,

and proceeded on their way to join Bakht Khan, the commander of the rebel forces at Bareilly. Later on news was received of the intended march of Bakht Khan at the head of the Bareilly mutineers on Bijnore, and matters looked gloomy indeed. The relief was great when it was ascertained that he was marching on Delhi by another route. Syed Ahmed now found out that his Pathans were in league with Nawab Mahmud Khan, a rebel chief, the son of Gholam Moiddin Khan, *alias* Bambú Khan, and nephew of Gholam Kadir Khan, who put out the eyes of Shah Alam, Emperor of Delhi. Syed Ahmed endeavoured to win him over to the side of the British, and sent him several messages, but his efforts were not attended with success. One night at 8 P.M. Syed Ahmed heard that the Europeans, who were all in one house, were being surrounded by Mahmud Khan and his men, 800 strong, who had marched rapidly and secretly on Bijnore. Running over by a back way which he had had constructed, accompanied by Mir Turab Ally Tehsildar, Rehmat Khan, Deputy-Collector, and Pertab Sing (now Raja) of Tajpur, he found the house almost surrounded, but luckily managed to get in undetected. A hurried conference was held, and it was urged by the Europeans that some one should go and have an interview with

Mahmud Khan, who was by this time seated on a large bed some distance outside. Syed Ahmed volunteered, took off his sword and pistol, and although urged to retain them by Messrs Shakespeare and Currie, went out to the meeting unarmed. All around were the rebel sentries, and Syed Ahmed was at once challenged by one of them, and told not to proceed. Still pressing on, he was challenged by another sentry, so he called out to the Nawab, saying that he had come to have an interview with him, and was a man of the pen and unarmed. Being allowed to proceed, he went up to the Nawab and begged him to speak with him aside.

The Nawab said, "We are all brothers here; say what you have to say before us all." Syed Ahmed whispered to him that matters relating to the taking of a province should not be talked over in public, on which the Nawab rose and accompanied him some distance apart. Syed Ahmed said, "I have neither arms nor money, but please accept my *nuzzur* by putting your hand on mine; *mubarik ho*, you have received the country of your ancestors. What is to be done with the Europeans inside that house?" The Nawab asked him what he would recommend, and Syed Ahmed said, "There are two courses open to you —the one, that you and I go in with a few men

and massacre them; but as Delhi may soon fall, it might be dangerous were the English to get the upper hand, and we had massacred these people. The other is, that I should get the English to go away, after formally making over to you the whole country." The Nawab said, "How is that to be done?" And Syed Ahmed said, "On one condition—*i.e.*, that you solemnly swear that when they go they shall not be molested." The Nawab agreed to this—stipulating, however, that the English were to be got away by 2 A.M. the next morning, Syed Ahmed made him swear to this, and returned to his friends inside, who, as may be imagined, were anxiously awaiting his arrival. He told Mr Shakespeare of the above conversation, and that officer agreed to the Nawab's proposal. Syed Ahmed returned to the Nawab, told him of Mr Shakespeare's decision, and begged him to return with him into the house to receive the necessary documents. The Nawab hesitated to go in alone, but Syed Ahmed overcame his fears by assuring him of his perfect safety. The party inside were therefore astonished and delighted at seeing the Nawab walk in with their plucky ambassador. After a few words with the Nawab, Mr Shakespeare asked Syed Ahmed to prepare the document in Persian, and Syed Ahmed so framed it that it only conferred

the country on the Nawab till the English returned to claim it! This was signed and sealed by Mr Shakespeare, and delivered by Syed Ahmed to the Nawab. The keys of the treasury (the treasure had been recovered from the well into which it had been thrown), &c., were also made over to him. The Nawab then returned to his men, reiterating his wish to Syed Ahmed that the English should evacuate the place by 2 A.M. It was now past midnight, not a horse or carriage, or other vehicle, was apparently to be obtained, and Mr Shakespeare told Syed Ahmed that he had not a rupee in his pocket! Once more did Syed Ahmed go to the Nawab, and represent that it was he only, the ruler of the country, who could provide the necessary carriage for the party. The Nawab thereupon gave him two elephants, and, after some trouble, a bullock-cart was also procured. Syed Ahmed then told the Nawab that he had no money, and the Nawab took him to the treasury and gave him Rs.3000. The cavalcade of men, women, and children started at 2 A.M. on the elephants and cart, guarded by four of Syed Ahmed's Sawars and four of the Nawab's, and Syed Ahmed, Torab Ally, and Rehmat Khan on foot. After escorting them through the Nawab's men, and accompanying them a couple of miles farther on, the

three latter made for Bassaye Kotla, about 12 miles off. Mr Shakespeare and party arrived safely at Meerut, after a fatiguing and at times hazardous journey. Syed Ahmed remained in the Bijnore district, and was offered charge of the same by the Nawab, who said that as he had given him the district, no one was better fitted than he to govern it. Syed Ahmed agreed to accept the charge if the Nawab would lay out *daks* (posts) to Meerut and Roorkee, if he would keep the English there informed of all that went on, and if he would obey any instructions sent by them to him. If so, Syed Ahmed told him that he would exert his influence with the English, and would get them to give him, the Nawab, a larger estate and a higher position than those formerly held by his ancestor Zabteh Khan. The Nawab declined the proposal. Three Hindu landholders, the Chowdries of Haldour and Tajpur, gathered their retainers together, and attacked and defeated the Nawab's forces. Syed Ahmed wrote a detailed account of this to the Commissioner of Meerut, and Mr Cracroft Wilson, Special Commissioner, who at once wrote directing him to take over the administration of the district for the British Government, in conjunction with Deputy-Collector Mehmud Rehmat Khan and Mir Turab Ally Tehsildar. Syed Ahmed did

so, and had the news proclaimed by beat of drum throughout the district.

For nearly a month all remained quiet, and mail-runners were sent regularly between Bijnore and Meerut. Unfortunately, contrary to Syed Ahmed's urgent remonstrances, the Haldour Chowdry attacked and plundered the Mohammedan village of Nagina, and slaughtered a number of its inhabitants. The Mohammedans, however, rallied, drove out the Chowdry's men, went in a body to the Nawab, and represented that, as the English Government could afford them no protection, he should take over the administration of the district. The Nawab accordingly attacked Bijnore with a large following and captured it. Syed Ahmed fled to Haldour. All the Mohammedans were against him, being under the impression that he had either instigated or sanctioned the Chowdry's raid on Nagina. The Nawab attacked and took Haldour, and Syed Ahmed fled to the village of Chandpur, where he, on foot, footsore and weary, was surrounded by a crowd of Mohammedans, several thousand strong, who yelled out, "There is the man who brought about the massacre of Mohammedans at Nagina!" Aided by some friends, he managed with great difficulty to elude them, and reached Meerut after several weeks' exposure and danger. *En route*,

at Garhmukteshur, a ferry on the Ganges, he heard of the fall of Delhi; so that it must have been towards the end of September, after four months of anxiety and peril, that he arrived in safety at the English cantonment.

Towards the end of September he visited his home at Delhi, just after the taking of the city. On reaching his house, he heard that his mother had taken refuge in one of her *syce's* (horse-attendant's) houses, and he followed her there. On his calling out to her she opened the door, crying out, "Why have you come here? All are being killed. You will be killed also!" He told her not to be afraid, as he had a special pass. He then found out that for five days she had been living on the horses' grain, and was very weak. For three days she had had no water. He hurried off to the fort, and brought a jug of water. An old female servant who was with his mother, and who was also suffering intensely from thirst, was first met by him on his return, and he poured out some water for her, and told her to drink. The faithful old woman told him to take it to her mistress, saying that she required it most. Syed Ahmed made her drink, and the poor woman, after drinking a little, fell back, and in a few moments was a corpse! Syed Ahmed's distress may be imagined. He took his

mother back with him to Meerut, but the shock and anxiety of mind that she had suffered during the siege and at the assault were too much for her, and she died a month afterwards. Syed Ahmed's uncle and cousin, whose house adjoined his at Delhi, were slain unarmed by the infuriated Sikhs three days after the assault. They were as loyal as Syed Ahmed himself; but at that dreadful time many innocent men, I grieve to say, suffered for the sins of the guilty.

On the formation of the Rohilkhand column, he accompanied it with Mr Shakespeare as far as Roorkee, and was present at the battle of Amsoth. He then returned to his duty at Bijnore, whence, in July 1858, he was transferred to Moradabad. For his services in the Mutiny he received a special pension of Rs.200 *per mensem* for his and his eldest son's life, and a *khilat* of one cap of four cones, one *gashwara* or outer turban, one *neem astin* or jacket, one pair of shawls, one belt, one *jugha* or coat, one *surpech* or turban of honour, one pearl necklace, and one sword. In recommending him for the former, Mr Shakespeare, whose life he had saved, wrote officially as follows to Mr Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand :—

The position in which this district stood at the commencement of the rebellion is well known to you.

There were no troops of any kind attached to it, and it was not, therefore, necessary to guard against danger on this account, except on the two occasions when a small number of sepoys were with us for a few days. Our chief difficulty was to keep the peace of the district, and prevent any overt act of violence on the part of the Nawab and his retainers, with very insufficient means for so doing; and it was therefore of the utmost importance that I should be truly and intimately acquainted with the feelings of the different classes with whom I had to deal. To aid me in this, I had recourse to the officers in whose behalf I now write, and I feel I cannot exaggerate the value of the assistance they afforded me during this period of incessant anxiety and danger. I do not think our flight could possibly have been delayed so long as it was had it not been for the unwearied zeal shown by these officers, whom I thus mention together, because it was in consultation with them collectively that I laid my plans, when matters began to assume a very serious aspect, and it became necessary to treat the Nawab—who by this time had collected round him a considerable number of armed followers—with the utmost circumspection. On every occasion of special danger and difficulty, such as when the jail broke, and I found it advisable to throw the treasure down the well—and when the sepoys of the 29th N.I., passing through from Saharanpore to Moradabad, and men of the same corps subsequently sent to our aid, had to be most cautiously dealt with,—on all and each of these occasions the officers in question were ever ready, and behaved with great discretion and courage. And at the last, on the night on which we were compelled to leave the station, I have good reason to know that but for the interposition of the Sudder

Ameen [Syed Ahmed] especially, the Nawab would have given licence to his followers, the result of which must have been fatal to our party. . . .

The hopes inspired amongst the Mussulmans of the district by the protracted siege of Delhi subsequently placed these officers in a very critical position, and the arrival of some 400 Jabadees on the 24th of June, on their way to Delhi under a fanatic named Moneer Khan, put their lives in great jeopardy; and it was not until the 6th of August, when the Nawab was compelled to fly from Bijnore, that they were again able to act openly as true subjects of the British Government. Up to this time their communications with the district officers had been carried on under considerable risk and difficulty. But they never appear for a moment to have entertained a doubt of our final success; and on receiving the necessary authority to assume charge of the district, the Deputy-Collector and Sudder Ameen at once did so, and with the aid of the chief Hindu landholders, were doing much towards restoring order, when they were compelled, on the 23d of August, to fly to Huldour, which town was shortly afterwards attacked and taken by the Mussulmans, after a stout resistance on the part of the Rajputs and other Hindus who have throughout stood firm in their allegiance.

On this disaster occurring, the Deputy-Collector and Sudder Ameen, with many more, made their escape, and after running great risk at Chandpore from the fanatical Mussulmans, who were infuriated against them owing to their loyalty to the British Government, they succeeded in crossing the river—the Deputy-Collector going in the first instance to his home at Khurja, and the Sudder Ameen coming to Meerut. . . .

All the three officers on whom I am reporting have

shown conspicuous loyalty; but if I were required to draw a distinction, I should do so in favour of Syed Ahmed Khan, whose clear sound judgment, and rare uprightness and zeal, could scarcely be surpassed. I feel assured his official character is so well established that, independent of his special services during this crisis, his promotion to a Principal Sudder Ameenship might be looked upon as certain; and I trust he may soon obtain this promotion. But in addition to this, I recommend that, in appreciation of his peculiar claims to reward, as having been mainly instrumental in securing the escape of the whole of the Bijnore party of Europeans, and of his subsequent services when the district was made over to him and the Deputy-Collector, he should receive a pension in perpetuity, or for his own life and that of his eldest son, of Rs.200 *per mensem.* I make this proposal because I know that it is the wish of Syed Ahmed Khan to travel, when he has passed a few more years in the service, and that he does not desire to have villages given him, as their possession would fetter his movements.

His losses have been very heavy, his family being resident at Delhi at the commencement of the outbreak. I have satisfied myself that the whole of his property at that place was pillaged, it having been brought to the notice of the rebels that he was a loyal subject of our Government. His houses have been restored to him; but his loss in goods and chattels at Delhi and at Bijnore he estimates at Rs.30,384.

CHAPTER IV.

'THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN REVOLT'—PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE REBELLION — NON-ADMISSION OF A NATIVE TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—STATE INTERFERENCE WITH RELIGION—MISSIONARY SCHOOLS—REVENUE AND LAND ADMINISTRATION — NECESSITY OF MUTUAL SYMPATHY BETWEEN GOVERNORS AND GOVERNED—ARMY SYSTEM.

IN 1858 Syed Ahmed wrote in Urdoo, 'The Causes of the Indian Revolt,' which was not, however, translated and published in English till the year 1873. The translators were Sir Auckland Colvin and myself. In his preface he says: "The following pages, though written in 1858, have not yet been published. I publish them now, as, although many years have elapsed since they were indited, nothing has occurred to cause me to change my opinions. An honest exposition of native ideas is all that our Government requires to enable it to hold the country, with the full concurrence of its inhabitants, and not merely by the sword." True and manly words

these. Although some of us may not agree with Syed Ahmed's 'Causes of the Revolt,' the pamphlet is exceedingly valuable, as giving us an insight into native modes of thought, and as written by the ablest of our loyal Mohammedan gentlemen. The following extracts may prove interesting to those of my readers who have not yet read the pamphlet:—

The primary causes of rebellion are, I fancy, everywhere the same. It invariably results from the existence of a policy obnoxious to the dispositions, aims, habits, and views of those by whom the rebellion is brought about. . . .

As regards the Rebellion of 1857, the fact is, that for a long period many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time, a vast store of explosive material had been collected. It wanted but the application of a match to light it, and that match was applied by the mutinous army. . . .

The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there, now breaking out in this place and now in that, is alone good proof that there existed no widespread conspiracy.

Nor is there the slightest reason for thinking that the rebels in Hindustan received any aid from Russia or from Persia. The Hindustanees have no conception of the views of Russia, and it is not probable that they would league themselves with her. Nor can I think that they would ever be likely to receive any help from Persia. As between Roman Catholics and Protestants, so between the Mussulman of Persia and of Hindustan, cordial co-operation is impossible. To me it seems just as cre-

dible that night and day should be merged in one, as that these men should ever act in concert. Surely, if such were the case, it is very strange that during the Russian and Persian wars, Hindustan should have remained completely tranquil. Nor, on the other hand, is it less strange that while Hindustan was in flames, there should have been in those countries no visible stir whatever. The notion of an understanding existing between these countries must be set aside as preposterous. . . .

I see nothing strange in the fact, if fact it were, of the ex-king of Delhi having written a *farmán* to the Persians. Such an imbecile was the ex-king, that had one assured him that the angels of heaven were his slaves, he would have welcomed the assurance, and would have caused half-a-dozen *farmáns* to be prepared immediately. The ex-king had a fixed idea that he could transform himself into a fly or gnat, and that he could in this guise convey himself to other countries, and learn what was going on there. Seriously, he firmly believed that he possessed the power of transformation. He was in the habit of asking his courtiers in Durbar if it were not so, and his courtiers were not the men to undeceive him. Is there anything wonderful in the fact of such a dotard writing a *farmán* to any person, or at any man's instigation? Surely not. But it is perfectly incredible that such a *farmán* should have formed the basis of any league. Strange that such wide conspiracies should have been for so long hatching, and that none of our rulers should have been aware of them! After the revolt had broken out, no volunteer, whether soldier or civilian, ever alluded to such a thing; and yet had any league existed, there could then have no longer been any reason for concealing it.

Nor do I believe that the annexation of Oudh was the

cause of this rebellion. No doubt men of all classes were irritated at its annexation; all agreed in thinking that the Honourable East India Company had acted in defiance of its treaties, and in contempt of the word which it had pledged. The people of Oudh felt on this occasion much as other men have felt whose countries have been annexed by the East India Company. Of this, however, more hereafter. But what I mean here is, that the men who would be the most irritated and dismayed at such a step, were the noblemen and independent princes of Hindustan. These all saw that sooner or later such a policy must lead to the overthrow of their own independence, and confiscation of their own lands. Nevertheless we find that there was not one of the great landed princes who espoused the rebel cause. The mutineers were for the most part men who had nothing to lose—the governed, not the governing class. To cite in contradiction of what I say the cases of the Nawab of Jhujjar and the Rajah of Bulubgurh, and other such petty feudatories, would show little else than ignorance of the status of the various Hindustanee chiefs. . . .

There are, again, no grounds for supposing that the Mohammedans had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith. The English Government does not interfere with the Mohammedans in the practice of their religion. For this sole reason it is impossible that the idea of religious crusade should have been entertained. Thirty-five years ago a celebrated Moulvie, Muhammad Ismael by name, preached a religious crusade in Hindustan, and called upon all men to aid him in carrying it out. But on that occasion he distinctly stated that natives of Hindustan, subject to the British Government, could not conscien-

tiously take part in a religious war within the limits of Hindustan. Accordingly, while thousands of Jehadees congregated in every district of Hindustan, there was no sort of disturbance raised within British territory. Going northwards, these men crossed the Panjab frontier, and waged war in those parts of the country. And even if we should imitate the know-nothings in the various districts and çall the late disturbance a religious war, it is very certain that no preparations were made for it before the 10th of May 1857.

In Syed Ahmed's opinion the original cause of the outbreak was the non-admission of a native into the Legislative Council. He says:—

I do not found my belief on any speculative grounds or any favourite theory of my own. For centuries, many able and thoughtful men have concurred in the views I am about to express. All treatises and works on the principles of government bear me out. All histories either of the one or the other hemisphere are witnesses to the soundness of my opinions.

Most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government —indeed, is essential to its stability—that the people should have a voice in its councils. It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us.

A needle may dam the gushing rivulet: an elephant must turn aside from the swollen torrent. This voice, however, can never be heard, and this security never

acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The men who have ruled India should never have forgotten that they were here in the position of foreigners—that they differed from its natives in religion, in customs, in habits of life and of thought. The security of a Government, it will be remembered, is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed, as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges. Look back at the pages of history, the record of the experience of the past, and you will not fail to be struck with the differences and distinctions that have existed between the manners, the opinions, and the customs of the various races of men—differences which have been acquired by no written rule, or prescribed by any printed form. They are in every instance the inheritance of the peculiar race. It is to these differences of thought and of custom that the laws must be adapted, for they cannot be adapted to the laws. In their due observance lies the welfare and security of Government. From the beginning of things, to disregard these has been to disregard the nature of man, and the neglect of them has ever been the cause of universal discontent. . .. .

The evils which resulted to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India were various. Government could never know the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear as it ought to have heard the voice of the people on such a subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish measure, or of giving public expression to their own wishes. But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of Government. They misapprehended

every act, and whatever law was passed was misconstrued by men who had no share in the framing of it, and hence no means of judging of its spirit. At length the Hindustanees fell into the habit of thinking that all the laws were passed with a view to degrade and ruin them, and to deprive them and their fellows of their religion. Such acts as were repugnant to native customs and character, whether in themselves good or bad, increased this suspicion. At last came the time when all men looked upon the English Government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire. They learned to think that if to-day they escaped from the hands of Government, to-morrow they would fall into them; or that even if they escaped on the morrow, the third day would see their ruin. There was no man to reason with them, no one to point out to them the absurdity of such ideas. When the governors and the governed occupy relatively such a position as this, what hope is there of loyalty or of goodwill? Granted that the intentions of Government were excellent, there was no man who could convince the people of it; no one was at hand to correct the errors which they had adopted. And why? Because there was not one of their own number among the members of the Legislative Council. Had there been, these evils that have happened to us would have been averted. The more one thinks the matter over, the more one is convinced that here we have the one great cause which was the origin of all smaller causes of dissatisfaction. . . .

I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These

are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is, that such a step is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure. As regards the details of the question, I have elsewhere discussed them, and those who wish to enter into it can read what I have said.

This mistake of the Government, then, made itself felt in every matter connected with Hindustan. All causes of rebellion, however various, can be traced to this one. And if we look at these various causes separately and distinctly, we shall, I think, find that they may be classed under five heads:—

1. Ignorance on the part of the people; by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of Government.

2. The passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established customs and practice of Hindustan, and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable.

3. Ignorance on the part of the Government of the condition of the people, of their modes of thought and of life, and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged.

4. The neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good government of Hindustan.

5. The bad management and disaffection of the army. . . .

I would here say that I do not wish it to be understood that the views of Government were in reality such as have been imputed to them. I only wish to say that they were misconstrued by the people, and that this misconstruction hurried on the rebellion. Had there been a native of Hindustan in the Legislative Council, the people would never have fallen into such errors.

Interference in Matters of Religion.—There is not the

smallest doubt that all men, whether ignorant or well-informed, whether high or low, felt a firm conviction that the English Government was bent on interfering with their religion, and with their old-established customs. They believed that Government intended to force the Christian religion and foreign customs upon Hindu and Mussulman alike. This was the chief among the secondary causes of the rebellion. It was believed by every one that Government was slowly but surely developing its plans. Every step, it was thought, was being taken with the most extreme caution. Hence it is that men said that Government does not speak of proselytising Mohammedans summarily and by force; but it will throw off the veil as it feels itself stronger, and will act with greater decision. Events, as I shall presently show, increased and strengthened this conviction. Men never thought that our Government would openly compel them to change their religion. The idea was, that indirect steps would be taken, such as doing away with the study of Arabic and Sanskrit, and reducing the people to ignorance and poverty. In this way, it was supposed, the people would be deprived of a knowledge of the principles of their own faith, and their attention turned to books containing the principles of the Christian creed. It was supposed that Government would then work on the cupidity and poverty of its subjects, and, on condition of their abjuring their faith, offer them employment in its own service.

In the year 1837, the year of the great drought, the step which was taken of rearing orphans in the principles of the Christian faith, was looked upon throughout the North-West Provinces as an example of the schemes of Government. It was supposed that when Government had similarly brought all Hindustanees to

a pitch of ignorance and poverty, it would convert them to its own creed. The Hindustanees used, as I have said, to feel an increasing dismay at the annexation of each successive country by the Honourable East India Company. But I assert without fear of contradiction that this feeling arose solely from the belief in their minds, that as the power of Government increased, and there no longer remained foreign enemies to fight against, or internal troubles to quell, it would turn its attention inwards, and carry out a more systematic interference with their creed and religious observances.

In the first days of British rule in Hindustan, there used to be less talk than at present on the subject of religion. Discussion on this point has been increasing day by day, and has now reached its climax. I do not say that Government has interfered in these matters; but it has been the general opinion that all that was done was according to the instructions and hints of Government, and was by no means displeasing to it. It has been commonly believed that Government appointed missionaries and maintained them at its own cost. It has been supposed that Government, and the officers of Government throughout the country, were in the habit of giving large sums of money to these missionaries, with the intention of covering their expenses, enabling them to distribute books, and in every way aiding them. Many covenanted officers and many military men have been in the habit of talking to their subordinates about religion; some of them would bid their servants come to their houses and listen to the preaching of missionaries, and thus it happened that in the course of time no man felt sure that his creed would last even his own lifetime.

The missionaries, moreover, introduced a new system

of preaching. They took to printing and circulating controversial tracts, in the shape of questions and answers. Men of a different faith were spoken of in those tracts in a most offensive and irritating way. In Hindustan these things have always been managed very differently. Every man in this country preaches and explains his views in his own mosque or his own house. If any one wishes to listen to him, he can go to the mosque or house and hear what he has to say. But the missionaries' plan was exactly the opposite. They used to attend places of public resort—markets, for instance, and fairs, where men of different creeds were collected together—and used to begin preaching there. It was only from fear of the authorities that no one bade them be off about their business. In some districts the missionaries were actually attended by policemen from the station. And then the missionaries did not confine themselves to explaining the doctrines of their own books. In violent and unmeasured language they attacked the followers and the holy places of other creeds, annoying and insulting beyond expression the feelings of those who listened to them. In this way, too, the seeds of discontent were sown deep in the hearts of the people.

Then missionary schools were started in which the principles of the Christian faith were taught. Men said it was by the order of Government. In some districts covenanted officers of high position and of great influence used to visit the schools and encourage the people to attend them; examinations were held in books which taught the tenets of the Christian religion. Lads who attended the schools used to be asked such questions as the following, "Who is your God?" "Who is your Redeemer;" and these questions they were obliged

to answer agreeably to the Christian belief—prizes being given accordingly. This again added to the prevailing ill-will. But it may be said with some justice, "If the people were not satisfied with this course of education, why did they let their children go to the schools?" The fact is, that we have here no question of like or dislike. On the contrary, we must account for this by the painfully degraded and ignorant state of the people. They believed that if their children were entered at the schools, they might have employment given them by Government, and be enabled to find some means of subsistence. Hence they put up with a state of affairs in reality disagreeable enough to them. But it must not be thought that they ever liked those schools.

When the village schools were established, the general belief was that they were instituted solely with the view of teaching the doctrines of Jesus. The pergunnah visitors and deputy inspectors who used to go from village to village and town to town advising the people to enter their children at these schools, got the nickname of native clergymen. When the pergunnah visitor or deputy inspector entered any village, the people used to say that the native clergyman had come. Their sole idea was, that these were Christian schools, established with the view of converting them. Well-informed men, although they did not credit this, saw nevertheless that in these schools nothing but Urdu was taught. They were afraid that boys while reading only Urdu would forget the tenets of their own faith, and that they would thus drift into Christianity. They believed, also, that Government wished such books as bore upon the doctrines of the former religions of Hindustan to fall into entire disuse. This was to be done with the view of

ensuring the spread of Christianity. In many of the eastern districts of Hindustan where these schools were established, boys were entered at them by compulsion, and by compulsion only. It was currently reported that all this was in pursuance of the orders of Government.

There was at the same time a great deal of talk in Hindustan about female education. Men believed it to be the wish of Government that girls should attend and be taught at these schools, and leave off the habit of sitting veiled. Anything more obnoxious than this to the feelings of the Hindustanees cannot be conceived. In some districts the practice was actually introduced. The pergunnah visitors and deputy inspectors hoped, by enforcing the attendance of girls, to gain credit with their superior. In every way, therefore, right or wrong, they tried to carry out their object. Here, then, was another cause of discontent among the people, through which they became confirmed in error.

The large colleges established in the towns were from the first a source of suspicion. At the time of their establishment Shah Abdulazeez, a celebrated Moulvie of Hindustan, was alive. The Mohammedans asked him for a *fatwa* on the subject. His answer was distinct. "Go," he said, "read in the English colleges, and learn the English tongue. The laws of Islam admit it." Acting on this opinion the Mohammedans did not hesitate to enter these colleges. At that time, however, the colleges were conducted on a principle widely different from that which is at present adopted. Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and English were equally taught. The 'Fickah,' 'Hadees,' and other such books, were read. Examinations were held in the 'Fickah,' for which certificates of proficiency were given. Religion was not

in any way thrust forward. The professors were men of worth and weight—all scholars of great reputation, wide knowledge, and sound moral character. But all this had been changed. The study of Arabic is little thought of. The 'Fickah' and 'Hadees' were suddenly dropped. Persian is almost entirely neglected. Books and methods of teaching have been changed. But the study of Urdu and of English has greatly increased. All this has tended to strengthen the idea that Government wished to wipe out the religions which it found in Hindustan. The professors are no longer men of weight or acquirements. Students at the college, in whom people have not gained confidence, have for some time past been appointed professors. And hence it is that throughout the country these colleges have fallen into disrepute.

Such was the state of the village schools and the colleges, such the general feeling of distrust throughout the country as to the views of Government about conversion, when a proclamation was issued by Government to the following effect: Whoever had studied and passed an examination in certain sciences and in the English language, and had received a certificate to that effect, was to be considered as having prior claims for employment in the public service. Petty appointments were granted on the production of certificates from the deputy inspectors—the very men who had hitherto been nicknamed native clergymen. This came as a blow to every one. Suspicion increased tenfold. The rumour again arose that Government wished to deprive the Hindustanees of all means of subsistence, and by impoverishing them gradually, to substitute its own religion in the place of theirs. . . .

The laws providing for the resumption of revenue

free lands, the last of which was Regulation 6 of 1819, were most obnoxious. Nothing disgusted the natives of this country more with the English Government than this resumption of revenue free lands. Sir T. Munro and the Duke of Wellington said truly enough that to resume lands granted revenue free, was to set the whole people against us, and to make beggars of the masses. I cannot describe the odium and the hatred which this act brought on Government, or the extent to which it beggared the people. Many lands which had been held revenue free for centuries were suddenly resumed on the flimsiest pretexts. The people said that Government not only did nothing for them itself, but undid what former Governments had done. This measure altogether lost for the Government the confidence of its subjects. It may be said that, if revenue free lands were not resumed, some other source of income would have to be sought, or some new tax imposed to meet the charges of Government; so that the people would have still to bear the burthen. This may be so; but the people do not see it. It is a remarkable fact that wherever the rebels have issued proclamations to deceive and reduce the people, they have only mentioned two things: the one, interference in matters of religion; the other, the resumption of revenue free lands. It seems fair to infer that these were the two chief causes of the public discontent. More especially was it the case with the Mohammedans, on whom this grievance fell far more heavily than on the Hindus.

Under former rules and in old times, the system of buying and selling rights in landed property, of mortgage, and of transfer by gift, undoubtedly prevailed. But there was little of it, and what little there was, was due to the consent and wishes of the parties concerned.

To arbitrarily compel the sale of these rights in satisfaction of arrears of revenue, or of debt, was a practice in those days unknown. Hindustanee landlords are particularly attached to this kind of property. The loss of their estates has been to them a source of the deepest annoyance. A landed estate in Hindustan is very like a little kingdom. It has always been the practice to elect one man as the head over all. By him matters requiring discussion are brought forward, and every shareholder in proportion to his holding has the power of speaking out his mind on the point. The cultivators and the Chowdries of the villages attend on such an occasion, and say whatever they have to say. Any matter of unusual importance is settled by the headmen of some of the larger villages. You have here, in fact, in great perfection, a miniature kingdom and Parliament. These landlords were indignant at the loss of their estate, as a king at the loss of his empire. But the Government acted in utter disregard of the state of things formerly existing. Dating from the commencement of English rule to the present time, there is probably not a single village in which there have not been more or less transfers. In the first days of British rule, sales of landed property were so numerous that the whole country was turned upside down. To remedy this, Government passed the law which is called Regulation I of 1821, and appointed a Commission of Inquiry. This Commission, however, gave rise to a thousand other evils. After all, the affair was not brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and at last the Commission was abolished. I shall not here enter into the question as to how Government could ensure the payment of the land revenue, if it gave up the practice of sales or its right to enforce sales as arising from the fact of the

land being pledged for the payment of revenue. All that I now say is, that whether this system of sales was the result of necessity or of ignorance, it has at all events had a hand in bringing on the rebellion. If any wish to see what my views are on this question, he will find them in my work on the Government of Hindustan.[1] I will only mention here that it is open to grave doubt whether the land *is* pledged for the payment of revenue. The claim of the Government lies, I take it, upon the produce of the land, not upon the land itself.

So, too, the practice of sale in satisfaction of debt has been most objectionable. Bankers and money-lenders have availed themselves of it to advance money to landlords, resorting to every kind of trickery and roguery to rob them of their property. They have instituted suits without end in the civil courts—some fraudulent, some correct enough. The consequence has been, that they have very generally ousted the old landlords, and insinuated themselves into their properties. Troubles of this kind have ruined landlords throughout the length and breadth of the land. . . .

There is no doubt that Government were but slightly acquainted with the unhappy state of the people. How could it well be otherwise? There was no real communication between the governors and the governed, no living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of the Mohammedans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted this course, without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained. It is,

[1] Before this book was put into press, the Government of India was taken by her Majesty the Queen in her own hands from the East India Company; and as the book chiefly related to the rule of the E. I. Company in Hindustan, it was not published.

however, not easy to see how this can be done by the English, as they almost all look forward to retirement in their native land, and seldom settle for good amongst the natives of India.

The people again, having no voice in the government of the country, could not well better their condition; and if they did try to make themselves heard by means of petitions, these same petitions were seldom if ever attended to, and sometimes never even heard.

Government, it is true, received reports from its subordinate officials; but even these officials themselves were ignorant of the real thoughts and opinions of the people, because they had no means of getting at them. The behaviour of these subordinates as a rule, their pride, and their treatment of natives, is well known. In their presence native gentlemen were afraid, and if they had told these officials of their want of knowledge of the people of their districts, they would only have been summarily ejected for their pains. All the *amlah* (readers and clerks) and the civil functionaries, as well as wealthy native gentlemen, were afraid, and consequently did nothing but flatter.

Now Government, although in name only a Government subordinate to a higher Government, was in reality the real Government of this country, and as such it ought to have received the complaints and petitions of its people direct, and not, as it did, invariably by reports from its district officers. These are some of the reasons why the real feelings and ways of its people, why the action of new laws passed for that people, their working for good or for bad, for the prosperity or otherwise of the countrymen, were unknown, or only slightly known, to Government. The people were isolated, they had no champion to stand up for their rights and to see justice

done to them, and they were constrained to weep in silence. . . .

I feel it most necessary to say that which is in my heart, and which I believe to be true, even at the risk of its being distasteful to many of the ruling race. What I am now going to treat of is that which, if only done in a right way, will attract even wild animals, causing them to love instead of to dread, and which therefore will, in a much greater degree, attract men. I cannot here state at length what the benefits of friendship, intercourse, and sympathy are; but I maintain that the maintenance of friendly relations between the governors and the governed is far more necessary than between individuals: private friendships only affect a few, friendship and good feeling between a Government and its subjects affect a nation. As in private friendships two persons are united by the bond of a common friendship, so also should a Government and its people be knit together in like manner. *The people and the Government* I may liken to a tree, the latter being the root, and the former the growth of that root. As the root is, so will the tree be. What! Was such intimacy impossible under this Government? Most certainly not. We have numerous instances in which foreigners and natives of countries have been brought in contact with each other, and of their becoming friends, even when their religions and countries were different and widely separated. And why was this? Just because they wished, and did their utmost, to become so. How often do we not see strifes and enmities between people of the same race, religion, and customs! Friendship, intercourse, and sympathy are therefore not wholly dependent for their existence merely on the givers and recipients being of the same religion, race, or country.

Does not the Apostle Paul admonish us in these beautiful words?—"And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you" (1st Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, iii. 12). And does not Jesus admonish us in these?—"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt. vii. 12).

These were meant to inculcate friendship and love to all men; and no one, no wise and thoughtful man, will say that the admonition is wrong, that friendship and love to our fellow-men are not beneficial, that their results are *nil*, and that they do not blot out much that is wicked. As yet, truth compels me to state, Government has not cultivated the friendship of its people, as was its duty to do. The Creator has instilled it into the heart of man and the instinct of animals, that the strong should be kind to and care for the weak. The father loves his child before the child loves him. The man tries to win the woman, not the woman the man. If a man of low degree try to win the esteem of one in high position, he is liable to be styled a flatterer and not a friend. It was, therefore, for Government to try and win the friendship of its subjects, not for the subjects to try and win that of the Government. If it had done so, the results would have been great, and the people would have rejoiced. Alas that it has not done so! If Government say that what I say is untrue—that they have tried to cultivate friendship and have only been repaid with enmity—I can only say, that if it had gone the right way to work, its subjects would most undoubtedly have been its friends and supporters, instead of, as in many instances, rising up in arms against

it. Now friendship is a feeling which springs from the heart, and which cannot be kindled by "admonitions." Men may meet on very friendly terms, but it does not therefore follow that they are friends in the real sense of the word—that they are friends at heart as well as in outward signs. This is a link, as it were, between hearts: a man instinctively feels that he likes a man or the contrary. Government has hitherto kept itself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and they the dry grass—as if it thought that, were the two brought in contact, the latter would be burnt up. It and its people were like two different sorts of stone, one white and the other black, which stones, too, were being daily more and more widely separated. Now the relations between them ought to have been close like those between the streaks of white and black in the stone called Abri, in which we see the former close alongside of the latter, the one blending with the other. Government was, of course, perfectly right in maintaining special friendly relation with its Christian subjects (the English), but it was at the same time incumbent upon it to show towards its native subjects that brotherly kindness which the Apostle Paul exhorts us to in these words, "And to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity" (2 Peter i. 7). It must be borne in mind that the blood of the Mohammedan conquerors and that of the people of the country was not the same; that their faith was not the same; their manners and customs not the same; that in their hearts the people did not like them; and that at first there was little or no amalgamation of the two. What, then, was the secret of their becoming friends? Let us glance at the former Indian dynasties. First came that of the Mohammedan conquerors. In the reign of the Turks

and Pathans, there was no intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered until the Government of the former was made firm and easy. A feeling of cordiality was first established in the reign of the Mogul Emperor, Akbar I., and continued till the reign of Shah Jehan. No doubt, owing to many defects in the system of Government, the people were subjected to many evils; but these were lightened by the feelings just mentioned. This feeling unfortunately ceased during the reign of Alumgeer, A.D. 1779, when, owing to the rebellion of several Hindus of note, such as Sewajee, the Mahratta, &c., Alumgeer vowed vengeance against them all, and sent orders to all his lieutenants to treat them with rigour and harshness, and to exempt none from paying tribute. The injury and disaffection which therefore ensued are well known. Now the English Government has been in existence upwards of a century, and up to the present hour has not secured the affections of the people.

One great source of the stability of a Government is undoubtedly the treating of its subjects with honour, and thus gaining their affections. Though a man's income be but small, treat him with honour, and he is far more gratified than if he were presented with three or four times the amount and be treated with contempt. Contempt is an ineradicable wrong. Being treated contemptuously sinks deep into a man's heart, and although uninjured by the same as to his worldly goods, he still becomes an enemy. The wound rankles deep, and cannot be healed; that given by a sword can be healed, but that inflicted by a contemptuous word can *not*. The results of kindness are different: an enemy even, if treated courteously, becomes a friend; friends by friendly intercourse become greater friends, and strangers if

treated in a friendly manner are no longer strangers. By kindness we make the brute creatures our willing slaves; how much more then would such treatment cement the bonds between a Government and its people? Now in the first years of the British rule in India the people were heartily in favour of it. This good feeling the Government has now forfeited, and the natives very generally say that they are treated with contempt. A native gentleman is, in the eyes of any petty official, as much lower than that official as that same official esteems himself lower than a duke. The opinion of many of these officials is that no native can be a gentleman. . . .

There are many English officials who are well known for their kindness and friendly feeling toward the natives, and these are in consequence much beloved by them—are, to use a native expression, as the sun and the moon to them, and are pointed out as types of the old race of officials. . . .

The English army system in India has always been faulty, and one great fault was the paucity of English troops. When Nadir Shah conquered Khorassan, and became master of the two kingdoms of Persia and Afghanistan, he invariably kept the two armies at equal strength. The one consisted, or rather was composed, of Persians and Kuzul Bashies, and the other was composed of Afghans. When the Persian army attempted to rise, the Afghan army was at hand to quell the rebellion, and *vice versâ*. The English did not follow this precedent in India. The sepoy army was no doubt faithful in its day and served the Government well, but how could Government feel certain that it would never act contrary to its orders? What measures had Government taken for quelling at once on the spot any *émeute*

in that vast army, such as that which happened last year?

Government certainly did put the two antagonistic races into the same regiment, but constant intercourse had done its work, and the two races in regiment had almost become one. It is but natural and to be expected, that a feeling of friendship and brotherhood must spring up between the men of a regiment, constantly brought together as they are. They consider themselves as one body; and thus it was that the difference which exists between Hindus and Mohammedans had, in these regiments, been almost entirely smoothed away.

If a portion of the regiment engaged in anything, all the rest joined. If separate regiments of Hindus and separate regiments of Mohammedans had been raised, this feeling of brotherhood could not have arisen, and, in my opinion, the Mohammedan regiments would not have refused to receive the new cartridges. Owing to the paucity of the European element, the people of India only stood in awe of the sepoys, who thus became puffed up with pride, and thought there were none like them in the world. They looked upon the European portion of the army as a myth, and thought that the many victories which the English had gained were gained entirely by their own prowess. A common saying of theirs was, that they had enabled the English to conquer Hindustan from Burmah to Cabul. This pride of the sepoys was most marked after the Panjab was conquered. So far had it gone, that they made objections to anything which they did not like, and I believe even remonstrated when ordered to march consequent on the yearly reliefs. It was precisely at this time, when the army was imbued with this feeling of pride,

and the knowledge or rather conjecture that Government would grant anything they stood out for, that the new cartridges were issued—cartridges which they really believed were made up with fat, and the using of which would destroy their caste. They refused to bite them. When the regiment at Barrackpore was disbanded, and the general order announcing the same was read out to each regiment, the deepest grief was felt throughout the army. They thought that the refusal to bite the cartridges, the biting of which would have destroyed their caste, was no crime at all; that the men of the disbanded regiment were not in the least to blame, and that their disbandment was an act utterly devoid of justice on the part of Government. The whole army deeply regretted ever having had anything to do with Government. They felt that they had shed their blood in its cause, and conquered many countries for it; that in return it wished to take away their caste, and had dismissed those who had justly stood out for their rights. There was, however, no open rebellion just then, as they had only been disbanded and had not been treated with greater severity; but, partly from feeling certain that the cartridges were mixed with fat, partly from grief at seeing their comrades disbanded at Barrackpore, and still more by reason of their pride, arrogance, and vanity, the whole army was determined, come what might, not to bite the cartridges.

Correspondence was undoubtedly actively carried on in the army after the events at Barrackpore, and messages were sent telling the men not to bite the cartridges. Up to this time there was a strong feeling of indignation and irritation in the army, but, in my opinion, there was no intention of rebelling.

The fatal month of May 1857 was now at hand, in

which the army was punished in a manner which thinking men know to have been most wrong and most inopportune. The anger which the news of this punishment created in the minds of the sepoys was intense. The prisoners, on seeing their hands and feet manacled, looked at their medals and wept. They remembered their services, and thought how they had been recompensed; and their pride, which, as I have before said, was the feeling of the whole army, caused them to feel the degradation all the more keenly. Then the rest of the troops at Meerut were fully persuaded that they would either be compelled to bite the cartridges or undergo the same punishment. This rage and grief led to the fearful events of the 10th of May, which events are unparalleled in the annals of history. After committing themselves thus, the mutineers had no choice left but to continue in their career of rebellion.

CHAPTER V.

'THE LOYAL MOHAMMEDANS OF INDIA'—THEIR SERVICES IGNORED—LIST OF REWARDS—COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE.

In 1860 Syed Ahmed published a pamphlet on 'The Loyal Mohammedans of India,' extracts from which I shall now give. It is as well that the English public be reminded of eminent services rendered by our Mussulman fellow-subjects during the memorable years 1857-58; and it is also advisable to bring, after the lapse of so many years, these services and their rewards prominently before the Indian public. During and for long after the Mutiny, the Mohammedans were under a cloud. To them were attributed all the horrors and calamities of that terrible time; and that this prejudice was to a very great extent unjust, and that it was regretted and resented by the Mohammedans at large, is undoubted. No one being apparently willing to take up the cudgels in their defence, Syed Ahmed threw him-

self into the breach and did all in his power to rehabilitate their reputation.

Verily [he wrote] it is an incontrovertible truth, that in the revolutions of time a general calamity sometimes occurs of a nature so overwhelming that man is completely prostrated and unhinged thereby, and rendered utterly helpless in his extremity. There is then, as it were, a great weight on his soul, bearing it down into the gulf of despair, for at that season of crushing trial neither virtue nor learning, nor skill nor talent, is of any avail. His nature is thoroughly changed in the estimation of his fellow-men, no one has a good opinion of him, and nothing that he does claims any respect from others. Undoubtedly, if a man be guilty of a really culpable act, there can be no extenuation for it; but when he is enveloped by the sombre mantle of misfortune, even his good deeds are open to suspicion and misconstruction, and are either condemned *in toto*, or said to proceed from a latent sinister motive. Certainly, good and bad are to be found in every class and creed; but the proverb that "a fish pollutes all water" has reference especially to a season of distress—for it is a peculiarity of the time, that if even one man has done ill, the entire class to which he belongs is held up to execration; and although a large number of that class may have done right well, nobody thinks of their good deeds, and they get no credit for them. Now the season of dire extremity to which I allude is that which befell the Mohammedans in 1857-58. There was no atrocity committed then of which the blame was not imputed to the Mohammedans, although the parties really guilty may have been Ramdin and Matadin.[1] An oriental

[1] Hindu names.

poet has well said: "There is no misfortune sent from heaven which, ere it descended to earth, did not seek for its resting-place the dwellings of Mohammedans!" Long and anxiously have I pondered upon the events which marked the terrible crisis that has passed over this country; and I am free to confess that the facts which have come to my knowledge, and which I firmly believe to be true, have been a source of genuine comfort to my soul, inducing, as they do, the proud conviction that the rumours defamatory of the Mohammedans that have got abroad from the four quarters of the world are utterly without foundation. Some of the acts of the horrible drama have already been exposed; but as day by day all the particulars are gradually brought to light, then, when the naked truth stands revealed—*then* will this one glorious fact stand out in prominent relief, that if in Hindustan there was one class of people above another who, from the principles of their religion, from habits and associations, and from kindred disposition, were fast bound with Christians, in their dread hour of trial and danger, in the bonds of amity and friendship, those people were the Mohammedans; and then will be effectually silenced the tongue of slander, now so loud in their condemnation.

I am an attentive reader of the newspapers, and I have also read the various works that have been written upon the mutiny and rebellion, and in all do I find the most bitter denunciations against the Mohammedans, who are freely represented as being everything that is vile, treacherous, and contemptible. There was no prickly thorn in those awful times respecting which it was not said that it was planted by a Mohammedan! There was no fiery whirlwind that was not raised by a Mohammedan! And yet what are the facts? The

very opposite, indeed, of what the mistaken popular opinion would show them to be; for I really do not see that any class besides the Mohammedans displayed so much single-minded and earnest devotion to the interests of Government, or so willingly sacrificed reputation and status, life and prosperity, in its cause. It is an easy thing to make empty profession of loyalty and service, and to write an occasional bulletin of news, false or true; but it is to the Mohammedans that the credit belongs of having stood the stanch and unshaken friends of the Government amidst that fearful tornado that devastated the country, and shook the empire to its centre; and who were ever ready, heart and hand, to render their aid to the utmost extremity, or cheerfully to perish in the attempt, regardless of home and kindred, of life and its enjoyments. Be it known, however, that I certainly am no advocate of those Mohammedans who behaved undutifully, and joined in the rebellion; on the contrary, I hold their conduct in utter abhorrence, as being in the highest degree criminal, and wholly inexcusable. At that momentous crisis it was imperatively their duty—a duty enjoined by the precepts of our religion—to identify themselves heartily with the Christians and to espouse their cause, seeing that they have, like ourselves, been favoured with a revelation from heaven, and believe in the prophets, and hold sacred the word of God in His holy book, which is also an object of faith with us. . . . Verily, such unworthy Mohammedans have well deserved the righteous indignation of all right-thinking men; but at the same time, I must deprecate that wholesale denunciation against Mohammedans as a race, in which the newspapers are wont to indulge, and which stains the pages of those who have written upon the events of 1857.

Syed Ahmed then goes on to rejoice that the Government are favourably disposed to his countrymen, as shown by the rewards which have been liberally bestowed upon all loyal Mohammedans; and he only regrets that their loyalty and good services are rarely alluded to in the newspapers, whilst the writers on the Mutiny have "ignored them altogether."

Under these circumstances [he says] it has appeared to me advisable to publish a series of narratives, setting forth the loyal acts done by this class of people—more especially by those in the service of Government—so far as they have come to my knowledge; and to each case will be appended a notice of the mode in which a gracious Government has been pleased to testify its recognition of these services, in order that the fame of discriminating justice and princely munificence of our paternal Government may be spread amongst all classes of its subjects; and that the gratitude of Mohammedans may be thereby excited, and that they may be led to emulate each other in the performance of all good and just actions, being fully assured that it is their happy fortune to live beneath the shadow of a great and righteous Government, ever ready to be gracious to their obedient and dutiful subjects by extending to them protection and patronage. Those who are obstinately wedded to their own opinions, albeit founded upon imperfect or erroneous information and a profound ignorance of the manners and customs of the people, and the condition of the country, may possibly charge me with being a partisan, and therefore an untrust-

worthy historian. I cannot deny that I am a native of Hindustan and a Mohammedan, and that I am writing in praise of my countrymen and co-religionists; and if any person, arguing on these premisses, should choose to accuse me unjustly of being a biassed witness, he is at perfect liberty to do so; but I feel persuaded that all rational men and friends of justice will acknowledge that, in recording the facts herein collected, I have in no instance been blinded by prejudice, or shown a wilful disregard of the claims of strict impartiality, since my statements will invariably be found to be supported by unimpeachable documentary evidence, consisting of official reports and private testimonials, in addition to a notice of the honours and distinctions with which Mohammedan loyalty has been rewarded by Government; and this will, I trust, put to silence all who may feel inclined to cavil at my facts.

Syed Ahmed then proceeds to name those who in Hindustan stood stanchly by us in the Mutiny, amongst others (1) Zaquaria Khan, an official of whom Mr Carmichael, the magistrate of Pilibhit, wrote:—

He evinced his gratitude by taking charge of my family, and conducting them, with the greatest care and solicitude, many miles before I joined them; and he remained faithful with me in the hills, and ever insisted upon being with me everywhere. He was an old man, and had seen an immense deal of military service in the Deccan and elsewhere, and had the most unbounded confidence in the resources and power of our Government. He was promoted to a Tehsildarship on the

> restoration of order at Bareilly, and was cut down in open court by a Mohammedan; and Government have lost in him a faithful and devoted servant.

His three sons were provided for by Government, by grants of land in the Bareilly district.

(2) Abdulla Khan was the Kotwal or chief police officer at Pilibhit. Of him Mr Carmichael wrote:—

> Abdulla Khan, . . . from the first apprehension of any disturbances, exerted himself most successfully, with untiring zeal and energy, to the maintenance of order. . . . When the mutiny broke out in Bareilly, he remained at his post until his own police mutinied, when (for his determination and courage are equal) he would have shot the most mutinous of them had he not been restrained by the Tehsildar, who begged him to avoid bloodshed if possible, as the commission of it would only be the prelude to some greater acts of outrage. He then remained faithfully by me, and accompanied me up to the hills. . . . His family have given signal proofs of their loyalty by giving up their lives in the service of the State. Zakaria Khan was his uncle.
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> (3) Mohomad Ibrahim Khan, another uncle, was Tehsildar of Shamlee, in the Muzaffarnagar district. . . . His Tehsil was attacked by an overpowering force of the rebels, and himself and every member of his family . . . were killed. Among these were (4) Abdulla Khan's father, and many other relatives, and, indeed, the only two male members now living of his own family are himself and a younger brother. I beg to recommend most heartily and sincerely to the

kind consideration of a benevolent Government a man who has himself evinced his fidelity to the State in so marked a manner by his adherence to me at a most trying crisis, and whose whole family have given such striking proofs of their loyalty and devotion to the State.

Abdulla Khan was presented by Government with a pair of handsome pistols, a sword, and several villages.

(5) Wali Mohammad Khan was a Pathan from Rampore, and became a Sowar at Pilibhit on the Mutiny breaking out. He was one of the small but gallant band of Mohammedans who escorted Mrs Carmichael to Naini Tal. Afterwards he was in several actions, and at last fell fighting bravely at the battle of Churpura, on the 10th February 1858. A pension of Rs. 8 *per mensem*, with a gratuity of Rs. 336, were given by Government to his family.

(6) Mahbulla Khan was another native of Rampore who escorted Mrs Carmichael, and was afterwards present in several actions, being once wounded. He was made a Daffadar of Police, and received land worth Rs. 200 a-year.

(7) Syfullah Khan was also one of Mrs Carmichael's escort, was in several actions, and received a Jemadarship of Police Sowars, and land worth Rs. 205 per annum.

Others of the same Rampore escort were (8) Allai Yar Khan (wounded), (9) Mohammad Khan, (10) Abdul-karim Khan, (11) Syed Nur Khan, and (12) Ghulam-zamin,—all of whom were substantially rewarded by Government.

Here is a man of whom Mrs Cracroft Wilson wrote :—

(13) Mohammad Husein Sheristedar (reader) was at our house transacting business with Mr Wilson, on the morning that the jail was broken and the prisoners set free by the mutinous sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry. Mr Wilson had of course to leave home to try and restore order. I was consequently left alone. Mohamad Husein remained with me, refusing to leave me, and did all in his power to protect me. Mr Wilson has given him a certificate, which I hope will be of use to him. I give him this note, as he seems particularly anxious to possess an acknowledgment from myself of his services on that memorable day.

Another splendid example of loyalty was (14) Shaikh Sharfuddin, of Shaikhupur in Badaon, who sheltered Mr Edwards, C.S., and family, five in all, and Mr Stewart, &c., for months at the risk of his life. He received a *khilat* of Rs. 3000, and a village worth Rs. 2500 per annum in perpetuity.

(15) Nawab Nabbi Baksh Khan Bahadur was a resident of Delhi, who was there throughout the siege in 1857, and was the Vakil from the

Emperor to the Durbar of the Resident, an office which had been conferred upon him by Akbar II. Syed Ahmed says :—

> When the ruthless mutineers commenced giving free scope to their wild passions for plunder and slaughter, they seized forty-three Christian persons found in the city, among whom were women and children, and took them into the king's fort, intending to kill them there. . . . Yet this Nawab made one effort to save these Christian captives; for he addressed a letter to the king, in which he besought him not to sanction the massacre for which the soldiers were thirsting, and earnestly recommended his Majesty to obtain a *fatwa* (or legal opinion authoritatively advanced by the expounders of Mohammedan law) as to whether there was any scriptural text which could warrant this hideous atrocity. The Nawab ventured to urge this request upon the king, because he was very sensible that the sanguinary act contemplated was held in abhorrence by all right-thinking men, and condemned by every divine ordinance; and he knew that all the Moulvis of the city were prepared to give a *fatwa* to this effect.

Though his effort was fruitless, his noble attempt to avert the massacre will ever redound to his honour and praise. On the fall of Delhi, when the king's archives fell into the hands of the British, this letter of the Nawab's was also discovered; whereupon the Commissioners sent for him, and presented him with Rs. 500, while all his property was released from confiscation,

and permission given to him and his family to reside within the city as before. He received a certificate to this effect from Mr C. B. Saunders, the officiating Commissioner.

(16) Sheikh Khairuddin Ahmed Khan Bahadur was a most gallant and distinguished officer, who commenced his service in the 42d Regiment N.I., his father having been a commissioned officer in our army who was killed in the Afghan campaign of 1839. In this campaign Sheikh Khairuddin was present at twelve general actions. In 1845 he fought at Moodkee, Firozshah, and Sobraon. In 1850 he was presented with a valuable sword, on which were inscribed the names of the several actions at which he had been present. In 1854 this gallant officer left the army, and was appointed a Tehsildar in the Civil Department, became a Deputy-Collector in 1856, and was at Ballia in the Ghazipore district when the Mutiny broke out. It would take too much space to enter in detail his splendid services during 1857-58, for which he was raised to the highest rank of Deputy-Collector, received a dress of honour of six pieces, a pearl necklace, a robe and head-dress ornamented with gems, a jewelled sword worth Rs. 2000, the title of Khan Bahadur, and a gift of land worth Rs. 5000 per annum.

(17) Mohammad Rahmat Khan and (18) Mir Turab Ali were the Deputy-Collector and Tehsildar of Bijnore, and were with Syed Ahmed Khan throughout the Mutiny. Their excellent services were duly rewarded by robes of honour, a richly wrought sword, and grants of land of various amounts. Turab Ali's brother (19), Syed Zamin Ali, was Tehsildar of Bahraich in Oudh when the Mutiny occurred, and remained at Gorakhpore with Mr (now Sir Charles) Wingfield, doing good service. His uncle (20), Sabit Ali, was a Tehsildar in Bundel Khand, where he was killed by the rebels. His cousin (21), Irshad Ali, was Tehsildar of Fatehpur Sikri, in the Agra district, and was taken prisoner by the mutineers. He escaped, and did good service for Government. All of them were amply rewarded.

I could give many more names of Mohammedan Government servants who were prominent for their loyalty, but the foregoing are, I think, sufficient.

Before and after the Mutiny, Syed Ahmed had thought deeply on the state of his co-religionists in India, more specially with reference to the educational question. His idea was that the education imparted to the mass of Mohammedans was utterly inadequate to the spirit of the age—consisting, as it did, of only logic, philosophy,

Arabic literature, and religion. Geography, the modern arts and sciences, and recent histories of nations, were sealed books to them. Like Sir Charles Metcalfe, he looked to education "that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately annihilated." The Tory motto on taking office in 1874 was "Sanitas sanitorum omnia sanitas;" that of a famous physician was "Diagnosis, diagnosis, diagnosis;" Syed Ahmed's is "Educate, educate, educate." "All the socio-political diseases of India may," he once said to me, "be cured by this treatment. Cure the root, and the tree will flourish." In 1858, therefore, he had made his first attempt at education, by opening at Moradabad a school specially for the study of modern history. There being, in his estimation, no books in the native languages suitable for this branch of study, the idea of a Translation Society dawned on his mind. In 1862 he was transferred as subordinate judge to Ghazipore, and almost immediately commenced the first commentary on the Bible ever written by a Mohammedan. The difficulties incurred by him in writing this abstruse work may be im-

agined when it is borne in mind that he was ignorant of English; that all the accessible theological works treating of his subject were written in that language; and that he had to have these various books translated into Urdu, and read to or by him. Undeterred by these difficulties, however, he worked at the Commentary for years, until other, and to him more important, tasks claimed all his energies. Three volumes have been published: the first treating of the Bible as a whole; the second commenting on Genesis up to the eleventh chapter; and the third dealing with the Gospel of St Matthew, now in the press. The first two volumes were very favourably reviewed in the 'Athenæum.'

CHAPTER VI.

THE ALLYGURH SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY—INAUGURAL SPEECHES—TRANSLATIONS—GHAZIPORE COLLEGE.

It was at this time that I first met Syed Ahmed, being then an Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Ghazipore. At the very first interview I felt greatly attracted to him—a feeling which has but deepened with time. The Translation Society, now known as the Scientific Society of Allygurh, was started by Syed Ahmed at Ghazipore on the 9th January 1864. There was a large assemblage of European and native gentlemen at Syed Ahmed's house, where the first meeting was held. In the course of a speech which I made on the occasion I said :—

For the first time in the annals of Hindustan has a Mohammedan gentleman, alone and unaided, thought over and commenced a Society in order to bring the knowledge and literature of the nations of the Western world within reach of the immense masses of the people of the Eastern. At present all the works on the arts

and sciences are sealed to the people of Asia as a body; and when we recollect that it will be through the modern arts and sciences that this country is to advance with the age, I am sure that those interested in India's wellbeing will give their hearty aid to this Society. All the many works on the capabilities of this country are unknown to most of the people here. How many are there in India who know anything of the valuable contents of mother earth? How many are there who are acquainted with any of the modern improvements on the materials with which the soil is tilled, water is raised, cotton prepared—or in short, on almost everything which is at present done, only very superficially or clumsily, by the mass of the people of India? The many works on all the above will gradually be translated by this Society, and they will thus become generally known. But it will not do to sit still and listen. The people of India must all give assistance. Let those who are interested in this good work make the objects of this Society widely known in their several districts and divisions, and let the many wealthy men in native cities contribute but a very small portion of their yearly gains towards disseminating knowledge for the benefit of their descendants by means of this Society, and they will have one of the purest pleasures a man can have—viz., the thought that "I have done something, not only for myself, but for others."

The object of the promoter of this Society, Syed Ahmed Khan, is not to obstruct the study of English, but by bringing the English literature within reach of his fellow-countrymen, to increase the civilisation, and therefore the wealth and wellbeing, of his country. English is gradually being more and more studied in

India; but he knows well that it will take long before the mass of the higher classes even will be sufficiently grounded in that language to benefit by the knowledge which it opens up. In order to show clearly his opinion on the necessity of studying English, I may here quote a part of the speech delivered by him last October before the Mohammedan Literary Society at Calcutta:—

"The reason, gentlemen," he said, "why we are all so backward nowadays, is that whilst we are learned in and benefited by the philosophy, sciences, and arts of antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times, which the youth of the present age seems so much to admire. Let us now consider how it is that this is the case. Many grand works have been written in the German, French, and other languages. These, however, are all to be found translated into English. England has produced as many, if not more, grand works than other nations. Now, as we are not likely to become proficient in German, French, &c., as we have all their learned works in the English tongue, and as Hindustan is now governed by the English, I think it is very clear that English is the language to which we ought to devote our attention. Is it any prejudice that prevents us from learning it? No; it cannot be so with us. Such is only said by those who do not know us. No religious prejudices interfere with our learning any language spoken by any of the many nations of the world. From remote antiquity have we studied Persian, and no prejudice has ever interfered with the study of that language. How, then, can any religious objection be raised against our learning and perfecting ourselves in English?'

A writer has said, "Observe the society into which

literature introduces us: we are brought by it into contact with minds of the loftiest order." And what does more to form and fashion us than our companionship? Insensibly we become assimilated to those with whom we associate. The higher intellect affects the weaker. Thus the study of an elevated literature will silently and little by little take effect on the man's nature, and the various elements of character will grow in correspondence with the influences that act on them. The student will learn to appreciate the temper with which great minds approach the consideration of great questions: he will discover that truth is many-sided —that it is not identical or merely coextensive with individual opinion, and that the world is a good deal wider than his own sect, or party, or class. This literature, then, is what this Society appeals to the support of the people of India for. This is the benefit,—benefit which will make the Hindustan of to-day scarcely recognisable fifty years hence,—which literature—good, sound literature of any nation—will confer on those who choose to cultivate it. In commencing the business of this Society to-day, we have commenced a movement which, if the people of India will only give their hearty aid, is destined, in conjunction with many other measures working for its good, to make India a wealthy (far more wealthy than even she is at present), and what is of far more importance, an enlightened country. Indeed I ought to put the latter adjective first, as increase of enlightenment is equivalent to increase of wealth. Look how England's wealth has increased with her education within the last century. She had great difficulties to contend with—difficulties greater far than even the many difficulties which we know only too well obstruct the spread of knowledge in this country. In those days she

had no railways, no steam printing-presses, &c.,—little but her own innate genius and unconquerable energy. There is genius sufficient in India which, if its people will only to it put the shoulders of combination and perseverance, will soon place this country amongst the first as regards civilisation, as she is at present amongst the last. All the many aids to enlightenment which it took England many, many years to invent, experimentalise upon, and finally to bring into general use, are all at hand now. Steam, with its many modes of application, is at the people's command, calling loudly for employment and patronage, as a railway, a steam-plough, a steam-pump—or a steam-press, that universal disseminator of knowledge. A desire to benefit by all these can only be thoroughly kindled in the minds of the natives of this country by bringing them and many other things prominently to view, which is the object of this our Society. Natives of India, you have only to stretch out your hands, as it were, to grasp all the many and varied appliances for the promotion of your country's welfare; and to those who do grasp, a true pleasure, and I may also add, profit, not only in mind but in pocket, will be imparted by the touch. All those, therefore, English and natives, who only join heartily in this undertaking, shall have, I trust, the proud satisfaction of having not only set on foot, but also kept up, till it shall have accomplished its object, a Society, the benefit of which to the people of India will be incalculable. I trust, gentlemen, that you will excuse my having kept you so long; and I would only add, in conclusion, how much I feel is due to the enlightened and persevering man, the instigator of this Society, who is doing his best, both in head and pocket, to bring his country out of centuries of sleep, and who in after-ages will, I am sure,

be awarded a conspicuous place on the list of benefactors to his country, Syed Ahmed Khan.

Syed Ahmed, in his speech, said :—

I have now a few words to offer in connection with the business to be entered upon from to-day — the business of the Society. The most important and the most difficult subject which you gentlemen of the Directing Council will be requested to deliver your opinions on, is the selection of books to be translated and published as a commencement. Looking at the state of my fellow-countrymen's minds, I find that, from their ignorance of the past history of the world at large, they have nothing to guide them in their future career. From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present,—from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world,—they are unable to take lessons, and profit by their experiences. Through this ignorance, also, they are not aware of the causes which have undermined the foundations of those nations once the most wealthy, the most civilised, and the most powerful in the history of their time, and which have since gradually gone to decay or remained stationary instead of advancing with the age. If, in 1856, the natives of India had known anything of the mighty power which England possesses,—a power which would have impressed the misguided men of the Bengal army with the knowledge how futile their efforts to subvert the empire of her Majesty in the East would be,—there

is little doubt but that the unhappy events of 1857 would never have occurred. For the above reasons, I am strongly in favour of disseminating a knowledge of history, ancient and modern, for the improvement of my fellow-countrymen. There are certainly several works on history extant, written by our own authors; but they do not contain that information which is necessary to improve the civilisation and morality of men. Their views of the age in which they wrote were entirely those of their rulers; and their works abounded in flattery of those same rulers, as writing the truth, in many cases, would have doomed them to death or torture. Thus, much that was evil and tyrannical in the governors of our country has never been transmitted to us. They never enlightened the people of this continent on those subjects of which, as I have stated above, they were ignorant. Sir Charles Trevelyan has offered a prize of 500 rupees for the best essay on a comparison of the influence of the Greek literature on the Arabs under the Abbaside Caliphs of Bagdad, and the Ommizade Caliphs of Cordova, with the subsequent influence of Arabic literature on Europe. This is a step in the right direction, and this country ought to be very grateful to Sir Charles Trevelyan for his liberality. Various small editions of works on history have been translated by the Department of Public Instruction for the use of schools; but these do not contain that copiousness of detail, that full description of the morals, virtues, and vices of nations, which, in my opinion, are necessary in order to confer any real benefit on the native mind. The book which, I think, would be very suitable for our Society to commence with, is one written by M. Rollin on the ancient races, in which are admirably described their discovery of, and improvements on, the arts and

sciences; as also their laws and systems of government, together with their virtues and vices. This book is equally adapted to old and young, and is, I think, admirably adapted for the training of the native mind. This history is that of the ancient nations. At present the natives of India firmly believe that the arts and sciences were perfected by the Greeks. Now I do not mean to deny that nation's ability. I quite agree with M. Rollin that, whether we regard their splendid army, their wise laws, or their introduction of, and improvements on, various arts and science, we must allow that they brought all these to a very high pitch of perfection. We may with truth designate the Greeks as the schoolmasters of the world in their own and also in succeeding ages. But we in India know nothing of their former state of barbarism, of the means by which they raised themselves to the position which we know they attained, and we are also utterly ignorant of what conduced to bringing about the prosperity of Europe, which now so far excels the Greece of ancient days. The above-mentioned author has very fully and clearly explained the laws of Lycurgus, their good effects and bad, and in what essentials they are contrary to the nature of man; and thus, by reading and reflecting on the same, the native mind will be to a great extent enlightened. As our Society is in its infancy, I would not recommend the translating of the whole of the above work, but I would strongly recommend the translating of particular portions of it. One of these portions, on the ancient history of Egypt, consisting of only one hundred pages, in which the advancement of that race, the oldest in the history of the world in the cultivation of arts and sciences, is treated of, is one which I would strongly recommend to your notice.

Again, gentlemen, with regard to works on natural philosophy. All those who have anything to do with the internal management of districts are well aware how the producing capabilities of the soil are gradually decreasing. One great reason for this evil, which, if not remedied, will some day seriously affect the finances of India, is that the natives have never even heard of the principles on which the cultivation of the soil ought to be conducted, or of the many new inventions for improving their acres. The basis of these principles is natural philosophy, by the study of which we acquire a knowledge of the various properties of bodies, and by which we learn how to make use of the same. Steam, which we thought of no use whatever, is revealed to us in all its usefulness by the above science. Those among us who have been to Roorkee will have observed how wonderful are the uses to which a solitary shaft set in motion by steam is turned — how by it many works are set in motion, and many and varied articles turned out; and at first you have doubtless thought that all this was done by something more than human. The works at Roorkee, great as they are, are small compared with the many wonderful ones in England. I would therefore strongly advocate the translation of small works on natural philosophy in separate series. We might, for example, translate a small one on steam, one on the properties of water, or one on electricity.

Another work which is most necessary for India to read is one on political economy. Political economy was formerly known to us, but none of the works on it of our ancient authors are now extant. Colonel Hamilton, after a great deal of research, got together a library, and an excellent one it is, of most of the works of our ancient authors. In the list of these works, which he

kindly sent to me, I observed one or two small books on political economy; but which, from various leaves having been torn out or lost, and there being no other copies of them extant with which to compare them, were not printable. Besides, even if they were complete, Europe has so perfected this science as to have made them comparatively useless. From a want of knowledge of it, the natives of India are utterly in the dark as to the principles on which the government of their country is carried on. They do not know that the revenue is collected for their own benefit, and not for that of Government. Millions are under the idea that the rupees, as fast as they are collected, are hurried on board ship, and carried off to England! Why is this? Only through their ignorance of political economy. Their own immediate prosperity is also seriously impaired by this ignorance. They do not know how to manage their affairs, how to so apply their present wealth that it may increase tenfold, and at the same time relieve other countries by letting loose their capital, and not burying it in their houses. I would therefore recommend the translating little by little, so as not to interfere with smaller works, of Mill's 'Political Economy.' There is this to be said against it, that it is very voluminous; but, gentlemen, this is also an argument in its favour, as unless a work be voluminous, this important science cannot be treated of as it deserves. Again, against it might be advanced that there are certain portions of it which are not applicable to this country, but only to England or Europe. But this is exactly what ought to be put clearly before us natives, in order that we may comprehend what Europe is doing. Fellow-countrymen, I would now exhort you to observe attentively what Government is doing for your benefit,

and to profit by the sight. For your benefit was the agricultural meeting held the other day at Benares, and for your benefit is the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal going to hold a similar meeting at Calcutta in a few days. These are the first of their kind ever held in our country. Let us profit by them, and give them our hearty aid according to the best of our several abilities.

I had, in the previous year, translated and published at Syed Ahmed's private press two articles in the 'Edinburgh Review' on the administration of Lords Dalhousie and Canning, and on inquiry in London as to the author of these essays, I was informed that the writer was the Duke of Argyll, and that he was much gratified at these having been translated. It struck me that it would be beneficial to our infant Society if we could get the assistance of the Duke's name as patron, and on writing to his Grace I received a letter from him giving his cordial assent. His Grace is therefore the first English duke who ever lent the encouragement of his name to a society founded by an Indian gentleman. India is grateful to him. By a curious and happy coincidence it was from the Duke's hands at the India Office that, six years later, Syed Ahmed received the insignia of the Companion of the Star of India, and lunched with him afterwards. This Society's headquarters were afterwards transferred to

Allygurh, where, through Syed Ahmed's exertions and the liberality of the residents, its handsome institute, hall, and library were erected, and are now ornaments to the station. The following is a list of translations published by the Society since its foundation :—

Rollin's Ancient History of Egypt.
Persian Translation of Exoos's History of China.
Rollin's Ancient History of Greece.
Scott Burn's Modern Farming.
William Senior's Political Economy.
Elphinston's History of India.
Harris's Electricity.
Wilkinson's Geography, compiled from various English Works.
Selections from Mill's Political Economy.
Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia.
Todhunter's Mensuration.
Todhunter's Trigonometry.
Todhunter's Algebra for Beginners.
Todhunter's Theory of Equations.
Galbraith and Haughton's Scientific Manual Euclid.
Galbraith and Haughton's Scientific Algebra.
Todhunter's Euclid.
Barnard Smith's Arithmetic for Schools.
Barnard Smith's Algebra for Schools.
Galbraith's Arithmetic.
Galbraith's Plain Trigonometry.
Todhunter's Algebra for Colleges and Schools.
Todhunter's Plane Co-ordinate Geometry.
Todhunter's Integral Calculus.
Todhunter's Differential Calculus.

Syed Ahmed's counsel and example bore good fruit at Ghazipore, as within two months of the date of opening the Scientific Society he delivered a vigorous speech at the laying of the foundation of the New Ghazipore, now the Victoria, College, an institution built by the principal native gentlemen of the district. Mr Sapte, the Judge of Ghazipore, in his speech said, "You will presently have the advantage of listening to an address from Syed Ahmed Khan, whose deep learning and liberal views are well known to you all, whose stay in this district has been of the greatest benefit to it." In the course of his address Syed Ahmed Khan said :—

This assembly, composed of English and native gentlemen of this district, the former of whom have attended here, not as your rulers but as well-wishers, at your own special invitation, is a brotherly association ; and I have only to glance at the expression of the many faces around me to see that you fully appreciate their kindly fellow-feeling. Let us trust that He who rules on high may permit us to enjoy many such in our future lives, many such in which the natives of this country will be associated with those of the ruling race, for the purpose of compassing the improvement of the people of India. The English have the reputation of being the well-wishers of all mankind, without reference to race or creed. Although their method of carrying out their good intentions be sometimes open to criticism, still they generally come right in the end, and attain

their objects. The natives of India, living far distant from England, and many of them, also, far distant from Englishmen, believe only when they have the bodily presence of the English that this reputation is a true one. This proof is to-day before their eyes; this brotherly interest in that which is intended to do good is, through your presence here this day, English gentlemen of Ghazipore, patent to all those now assembled. If meetings such as this is were more frequent throughout India, the feeling of trust or attachment on the part of the governed towards the governors would be strengthened and enhanced, and be of the greatest benefit to both. . . . Native gentlemen, this your resolution of founding a college in this district is, indeed, a noble and praiseworthy one, and it is one which will, I trust, serve to incite the people of other districts to imitate your example; and thus we shall have colleges some day in every district. This admirable movement on your part proves that you are now alive to the necessity of education and enlightenment. Bear in mind, gentlemen, that her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria has had proclaimed in this country that her servants and subjects, European and native, are to be considered as being on an equal footing; and this assurance, gentlemen, is not a mere matter of form, but a reality. Those amongst you here present who have visited Calcutta within the last few years, will have noticed that there is a countryman of your own judge of the High Court, possessing the same powers, enjoying the same dignities, and receiving the same pay as his brethren, the English judges of that Court. You are also aware that several of your fellow-countrymen are members of the Legislative Council of India, associated with the Viceroy and other high dignitaries in the formation of

laws for your wellbeing, and that they give their opinions on the same without fear or partiality.

Gentlemen, the decision of the British Government that natives of India should be eligible for a seat in the Viceroy's Council both rejoiced and grieved me. It grieved me because I was afraid that the education of the natives was not sufficiently advanced to enable them to discharge the duties of their important office with credit to themselves and benefit to their country. Thanks be to the Almighty, this fear has proved groundless, and those of our fellow-countrymen who have been honoured with a seat in the highest council in India have discharged their duties manfully and right well. But, gentlemen, it is still requisite that we should increase our knowledge of things in general. The appointment of natives to the Supreme Council was a memorable incident in the history of India. The day is not far distant, I trust, and when it does come you will remember my words, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every division or district, and that thus the laws which it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country. You will, of course, see that this cannot come to pass unless we strive to educate ourselves thoroughly. I once had a conversation with one in high authority on this very subject, and he said that Government would be only too glad if a scheme such as I have sketched above were practicable; but he was doubtful if it were, and said that if there were qualified men in every district, Government would gladly avail itself of their knowledge, and give them seats in Council. I know this only too well, and felt ashamed that such was the case. What I have above stated is only to inculcate on your minds the

great fact that her most gracious Majesty wishes all her subjects to be treated alike ; and, let their religion, tribe, or colour be what it may, that the only way to avail ourselves of the many roads to fame and usefulness is to cultivate our intellects, and to conform ourselves to the age.

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATIONAL MEETING AT BADAON—SPEECH ON NECESSITY OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BEING MORE PROMINENTLY BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT—PRESENTED WITH GOLD MEDAL BY LORD LAWRENCE—DETERMINES ON TAKING HIS SON TO CAMBRIDGE.

In April 1864, Syed Ahmed Khan was transferred to Allygurh. In September 1864 I was officiating District Superintendent of Police at Badaon, and he paid me a visit there in that month, staying in my house. We had a crowded meeting in the educational cause—presided over by the Honourable R. Drummond—and Syed Ahmed delivered a very effective speech on the occasion. Out of many meetings which he attended, and many speeches that he made, I shall give one of the latter addressed by him on 10th May 1866 to a large and influential meeting of the European and native residents of Allygurh, in the Scientific Society's Institute, on the necessity of Indian affairs being more prominently brought

before Parliament than has hitherto been the case, and of forming an association for this purpose :—

Gentlemen, [he said,] if we look back upon that period of India's history which was passed by her under a despotic Government, we find kings or rajas possessed of unlimited power and authority over their subject-millions, and we know that their Governments, instead of being guided by the laws of reason and justice, were carried on according to their arbitrary will, their caprices, or their passions. The title "Disposer of the people's lives," and other similar titles which were adopted by kings and emperors of India, was meant to express their power over their people for good or evil, though I am afraid that were the balance to be struck between the two, the latter would be found to have outweighed the former, and the title in most cases to have been thus synonymous with vice, tyranny, and self-seeking. The ancestors of your very fellow-countrymen now present experienced this despotism, to numbers of them perhaps the source of high position, of wealth, or of excitement; and it is therefore perhaps but natural that their descendants should many of them thirst after that Government which was so favourable to the indulgence of the passions of their forefathers. If, however, they will but calmly and deliberately reflect—if they will but review those times, those reigns of their former kings, according to the principles of justice and morality —they will be convinced that the manifold evils which such Governments were the source of to the country at large, were dearly paid for by the benefits wrought upon the fortunes of the few. The rule of these former emperors and raias was neither in accordance with

the Hindu nor the Mohammedan religion. It was based upon nothing but tyranny and oppression: the law of might was that of right; the voice of the people was not listened to; the strong and the turbulent oppressed the feeble and the poor, and usurped all their privileges with impunity for their own selfish ends. It is only, therefore, by such usurpers and turbulent spirits that a despotism such as flourished in Hindustan for many long centuries is at all to be desired.

After this long period of what was but mitigated slavery, it was ordained by a higher power than any on earth, that the destinies of India should be placed in the hands of an enlightened nation, whose principles of government were in accordance with those of intellect, justice, and reason. Yes, my friends, the great God above, He who is equally the God of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian, and the Mohammedan, placed the British over the people of India—gave them rational laws (and no religious laws revealed to us by God can be at variance with rational laws), gave you, up to the year 1858, the Government of the East India Company. The rule of that now defunct body of merchant princes was one eminent for justice and moderation, both in temporal and religious matters. The only point in which it failed to satisfy the wants of the age latterly, was the fact of its not being a regal Government,—a necessity which had gradually forced itself more prominently into notice as time rolled on, when the once solitary factory on the banks of the Ganges had grown into an empire half as large as Europe, with a population of nearly two hundred millions. Owing to this—owing to the fact that the affairs of India were almost entirely conducted by the Court of Directors—one great obstacle to the satisfying the requirements of all classes

of the community was this, that Parliament in those days—and, alas that I should have to say it! in these days also—was not sufficiently alive to the importance of Indian affairs to take any interest in them, unless they by chance happened to touch upon the politics of the day, the fate of a ministry, or were brought prominently to notice by the brilliancy of some popular orator.

It has been, gentlemen, a matter of sincere regret to all thinking natives, that since the assumption of the reins of Government in India by her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria in person, the attention of her Parliament has not been more bestowed upon measures affecting the future welfare of the inhabitants of this portion of her dominions. It is with great regret, my fellow-countrymen, that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect its members, gentlemen, to take a deep interest in your affairs, if you do not lay your affairs before them? That they do so even to a limited extent, is due to their enlightenment and philanthropy. The British Parliament represents the flower of the wealth and intellect of England; and there are many men now composing it, liberal in their views, just and virtuous in their dealings, who take a deep interest in all that affects the welfare of the human race. To excite this interest, however, it is necessary that the requirements and wishes of that portion of mankind on whose behalf they are to exert themselves, be made clearly known to them. Their interest and philanthropy once excited, you may feel assured, gentlemen, that the wants, be they the wants of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian, or the Mohammedan, of the black man or of the white, will be attentively studied and duly cared for. India,

with that slowness to avail herself of that which would benefit her so characteristic of Eastern nations, has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her Budget, brought before it in an annual and generally inaudible speech by her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Is this state of things to continue, or has the time now come when the interests of this great dependency are to be properly represented in the governing body of the British nation? It has come, gentlemen, and I entreat you to interest yourselves for your country. The European section of the community in India, now grown so large, have set on foot an association in London, with branch associations in India, in order to have Indian affairs, and the wants and desires of all classes of her inhabitants, brought prominently to the notice of Parliament. In this London association, natives of India will also take part; but unless the entire native community out here co-operate with them, place funds at their disposal, and take such measures as may conduce to place the scheme on a permanent basis, the opportunity will be lost—the natives of India will be unrepresented—and you will only have yourselves to reproach when in after-years you see the European section of the community enjoying their well-earned concessions, whilst your wants remain still unmet.

I am afraid that a feeling of fear—fear that the Government or the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented, were you to inaugurate a measure like this—deters you from coming forward for your country's good. Are the Europeans thought factious and discontented? Believe me that this moral cowardice is wrong—this apprehension unfounded; and that there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in

India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope, such a healthy sign of increased civilisation on the part of its inhabitants. If you will only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self-reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an independent race like the English, than if you remain as you now are, apathetic and dependent. The actions and laws of every Government, even the wisest that ever existed, although done or enacted from the most upright and patriotic motives, have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people, or opposed to real justice. The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country; and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy, whilst discontent is rankling in their minds. I hope you, my native hearers, will not be angry with me for speaking the truth. You know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of Government in your own homes and amongst your own families, and that you, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourselves as quite satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very acts. Such a state of affairs is inimical to the wellbeing of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice, or otherwise, of the acts of Government.

Mr John Stuart Mill, in his able work on Political Economy, says: "The rights and interests of every or of any person are only secure from being disregarded when the person interested is himself able and habitually disposed to stand up for them. The second is that the general prosperity attains a greater height, and is

more widely diffused, in proportion to the personal energies enlisted in promoting it." These principles, my friends, are as applicable to the people of India as they are to those of any other nation; and it is in your power, it now rests with you alone, to put them into practice. If you will not help yourselves, you may be quite certain no one else will. Why should you be afraid? Here am I, a servant of Government, speaking out plainly to you in this public meeting. My attachment to Government was proved, as many of you know, in the eventful year of the Mutiny. It is my firm conviction, one which I have invariably expressed both in public and in private, that the greater the confidence of the people of India in the Government, the more solid the foundation upon which the present Government rests, and the more mutual friendship is cultivated between your rulers and yourselves, the greater will be the future benefit to your country. Be loyal in your hearts, place every reliance upon your rulers, speak out openly, honestly, and respectfully all your grievances, hopes, and fears, and you may be quite sure that such a course of conduct will place you in the enjoyment of all your legitimate rights; and that this is compatible, nay, synonymous with true loyalty to the State, will be upheld by all whose opinion is worth having.

From all that I have just said, gentlemen, I wish to advocate the formation, on your part, of an association for the North-Western Provinces, which will, through the head association to be established in London, as detailed in the article reprinted from the 'Englishman' in number V. of the Institute Paper, give the people of the North-Western Provinces an opportunity of making known their wants to Parliament.

A number of subscribers at once joined the association, and Syed Ahmed Khan was elected secretary.

In November 1866, Syed Ahmed was presented by Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy, with a gold medal and a copy of Macaulay's works for his good services and efforts in the cause of education. The following is the inscription on the medal: "Presented by the Viceroy of India, in public Durbar, to Syed Ahmed, a loyal and valuable servant of the Queen, in recognition of his continuous and successful efforts to spread the light of literature and science among his countrymen. Agra, 20th November 1866." The inscription attached to Macaulay's works, in his Excellency's own handwriting, is—"To Moulvi Syed Ahmed Buhadoor, Principal Sudder Ameen of Allygurh, in recognition of his conspicuous services in the diffusion of knowledge and general enlightenment among his countrymen. Agra, 20th November 1866."

In 1867 he was transferred to Benares. Still, not satisfied with what he had already done, he determined to send his son, Syed Mahmud, to Cambridge, and to accompany him himself to see what measures were necessary towards the establishment of a similar college in the North-West Provinces—more particularly for the requirements

of Mohammedans. Such a determination shows what sort of a man he is. There are not many native gentlemen who, at the age of fifty-two, would undertake the long sea-trip to England, and face the great change of climate and habits which it involves.

CHAPTER VIII.

SYED AHMED IN ENGLAND—RECEIVED BY LORD LAWRENCE, LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, ETC.—MADE C.S.I.—SPEECH AT SMEATONIAN SOCIETY—PETITION TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL—'ESSAYS ON THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED.'

On the 10th April 1869, Syed Ahmed and his two sons,—Syed Mahmud, who had obtained the first scholarship of the North-West Provinces, given to Indian youths to enable them to study in England, now Judge of the High Court in the North-West Provinces, of whom Mr Whitley Stokes years afterwards said in the Viceroy's Council that he was "the distinguished son of a most distinguished father"—and Syed Hamed, now a District Superintendent of Police in the same Provinces,—left Bombay, and on their arrival in England took up their quarters in a house in Mecklenburg Square, W.C.

I was at home on furlough at the time, but was unable to meet them till the end of May 1869, when I ran up to town and had the pleasure of

welcoming them to England. I took them to the Derby, which interested and amused them greatly. What appeared to astonish Syed Ahmed most of all was the moment when the horses came round the bend before Tattenham Corner. Up to this time the sea of hatless heads, which had all been turned from us (we were at the back of the Grand Stand), suddenly veered round as one man as the horses changed their direction, and the sudden flashing round of the multitude of white faces was a sight which Syed Ahmed was particularly struck with. The vast crowd was of much more interest to him than the racing. His stay in England was made pleasant to him by many people, particularly by Lord Lawrence, who was most kind to him, asking him to dinner, and calling on him once every month during his stay in the country. Lord Lawrence knew Syed Ahmed's family well. Another friend whom he often saw was Lord Stanley of Alderley, who, by his long residence at the English Embassy at Constantinople, had acquired a profound knowledge of the Mohammedan character and religion, both in its social and political aspects. He had an interview with Carlyle, and the Chelsea Sage was unusually gracious to him. They talked long and earnestly over 'Heroes and Hero-Worship,' especially about Mohammed, of whom Carlyle

expresses a very high opinion in that work; and also about Syed Ahmed's 'Essays on the Life of Mohammed,' then in the press. Sir John William Kaye was another whom he saw a good deal of and had correspondence with this year. Syed Ahmed was present at the last reading given by Charles Dickens. He was very kindly received by the Duke of Argyll, then Secretary of State for India, who introduced him to the Marquis of Lorne, and presented him with the insignia of the Companion of the Star of India.

Lord Lawrence, on the 4th June 1869, wrote to him as follows about this: "I am very glad to hear that you are to have the Third Class of the Star of India. It is an honour you well deserve. Indeed I may say that I recommended you for it before I left India." John Lawrence's praise is worth having. The other recipients of the Companionship of the Star of India on the same day as Syed Ahmed were Messrs Harrison, Barlow, Boyle, and Captain Meadows Taylor. Here is Syed Ahmed's account of the ceremony:—

On Friday, the 6th of August 1869, I drove to the India Office to receive the insignia of the Companionship of the Star of India. The rest of the recipients were also present. We were received by Mr (afterwards Sir John W.) Kaye, secretary to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, who shook hands with us all, and spoke a few courteous and congratula-

tory words to each of us. After a short interval, Mr Benthall, private secretary to his Grace, entered the room where we were assembled, and shaking hands with me, asked me to accompany him into an adjoining room, where the Duke was waiting to receive me. The Duke was seated without any appearance or surroundings of ceremony, and rising, received me very graciously, shook me by the hand, and introduced me to his son, the Marquis of Lorne, who was present on the occasion. He conversed with me very kindly for some minutes, and inquired after my sons, especially about their education and the progress of their studies. He spoke in English, of course, and I answered him as well as I could in that language, and only regret that I could not speak as correctly and fluently as I could have wished. His Grace then presented me with the Star, together with the royal warrant bearing the signature of the Queen, appointing me a "Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India," and after congratulating me on the great distinction that had been conferred upon me, permitted me to retire. The other recipients having been similarly summoned and invested with the Star, we were all asked to lunch by the Duke, and sat down to a really splendid luncheon, the Duke taking the head of the table, and I, at his invitation, taking the seat on his left. Many influential men, members of Parliament, and others, were present; amongst others, Sir Bartle Frere, whom I had already met before, and with whom I had a long conversation. After lunch the Duke retired, shaking hands with all present; but the rest of us continued at table over the dessert, and chatting for some time after.

Syed Ahmed was also present at the dinner

given at Greenwich by the Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers, on the 13th July 1869, and made a speech on the effects of engineering works on the Indian public, which was translated and read out in English by Lord Lawrence. The following is an extract from the 'Daily News' of the 21st July on the above :—

Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers.—This Society made an excursion down the Thames, and afterwards had an entertainment at Greenwich, on Thursday the 13th instant. The party started from Westminster in Mr Penn's steam-yacht, and visited, under special arrangements, his Engine Manufactory at Deptford, also Messrs Ziemen's Telegraph Cable Works at Charlton, and the Gun and Ammunition Manufactories at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich. The inspections and the explanations given were of the greatest interest, and afforded much information and pleasure to the company. At the dinner there were nearly fifty gentlemen, the chair being taken by Mr Penn, the president for the year, and among those present were Lord Lawrence, Syed Ahmed and his two sons, Lord Alfred Churchill, Thaiszelek of Pesth, Baron Joachunis, Honourable J. R. Howard, Mr Reed (Admiralty); Messrs Hawkshaw, Whitworth, Sindley, Vignoles, Hemans, J. R. Maclean, M.P., R. Arkwright, M.P.; Dr Percy; Major-Generals Sir A. Waugh and Sir J. A. L. Simmons; Colonels Boxer, Campbell, and Murray; Captains Galton and Ruth; Aldermen J. S. Gibbons and Sir Sydney Waterlow, &c., &c., &c. The Society dates from 1771, when Smeaton instituted a gathering of professional engineers and men of science for friendly intercourse and discussion. The

usual ancients of the Society were given in the evening, and to that of the memory of their departed brethren, special notice was made of the name of James Watt by Mr J. Webster, Q.C., being the centenary of his first patent for a method of lessening the consumption of steam and fuel in fire-engines, on the 5th January 1769. For the visitors Lord A. Churchill and Mr Reed of the Admiralty replied, together with Lord Lawrence, and with a dignified and interesting speech from his friend the Judge Syed Ahmed. Thanks were accorded to the President and to Mr Mylne the Treasurer for the arrangements of the day, and several of the party returned to town in the evening by the steam-yacht.

On the 28th July 1869, Syed Ahmed addressed the following letter to the Duke of Argyll :—

My Lord Duke,—In laying before your Grace the few following facts and the petition founded thereon, I do so with full confidence that your Grace will give them generous and liberal consideration.

I am, as no doubt your Grace is aware, one of her Majesty's subordinate Judges of India of the Uncovenanted Service, and have, as the accompanying papers will prove, spent the best years of my life in the service of the British Government, not without approval, and may I be pardoned for hoping, not without benefit to the Government and to my native land.

I have long felt that it was a great disadvantage to my country and people, and especially to Indian officials like myself, to have no personal knowledge of the land, or the rulers, or even the institutions of the kingdom to whom Providence has given the sway over India; that one of the chief requisites to bind us close to England is, that

there should be free and untrammelled intercourse between us; that we should be encouraged to come freely to this centre of power and civilisation, and to note for ourselves how true is the interest felt for India's good by our common sovereign, and by the councillors of that sovereign. On the occasion of the Durbar held in Oudh in 1867 by Lord Lawrence, our late Governor-General, I availed myself of the opportunity to express these views to him, and was gratified by his seeming to concur fully in them.

Government Resolution of the 30th June 1868, founding nine scholarships to be given to Indian youths desirous of completing their education in England, was soon afterwards issued. This harmonised with my previous views; but knowing how many prejudices exist in the minds of the great mass of my countrymen against such a measure, involving as it does a sacrifice of the daily habits of a lifetime, I determined to be the first to avail myself of the opening given, and so applied for and obtained one of the scholarships for my son, who was then a student of the Calcutta University, and had passed the examination entitling him to a nomination. He is now with me in London, and has commenced his course of study at Lincoln's Inn. I also did the utmost in my power to induce others of my countrymen to follow my example, and avail themselves of the wise policy of Government, by establishing an association for the encouragement of travel to England.

Previous, however, to the grant of the scholarships, wishing to set an example in my own person of seeking knowledge of England, and its institutions and policy, I had applied for furlough for eighteen months for this purpose, petitioning, at the same time, that under the special circumstances of the case, I might have the

special indulgence of drawing full pay during the time of my absence, and of counting the same towards pension. An unfavourable reply was given, it being stated that under the furlough rules for uncovenanted officers I was not entitled to the favour solicited. This much I knew before. It was the special indulgence I had applied for that I hoped would have been conceded to me, and, in a further application for the same, I asked that my request might be placed before the Secretary of State for India. Being now, however, in England, I take the liberty of a direct appeal to your Grace, praying your generous consideration of my case.

In order to come to England I have been obliged to sell and mortgage my property, and the sum thus raised will, I fear, not cover the inevitable expenses of the coming and going and residing in England, and that, if not aided, I may have to return to India an indebted and impoverished man.

The following was the very satisfactory reply received by him :—

INDIA OFFICE, S.W., *7th August* 1869.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, requesting that you may be permitted to draw full pay during your present leave, and to reckon it as service towards pension, and to acquaint you in reply that the rules do not admit of a compliance with your request, but that, under the circumstances stated in your letter, the Secretary of State for India in Council has been pleased to sanction the grant to you as a special case, in consideration of your services during the Mutiny, and of your general high character, of the sum of £250 per annum for two years,

in addition to the furlough pay to which you are entitled under the rules.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

M. G. GRANT DUFF.

SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADOR, C.S.I.

Syed Ahmed Khan acknowledged this as follows :—

TO THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 7th instant, informing me "the rules do not admit of a compliance with your request, but that, under the circumstances stated in your letter, the Secretary of State in Council has been pleased to sanction the grant to you as a special case," I beg to request that you will convey to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State in Council my sincere and grateful acknowledgments and thanks, not only for such compliance with my request, but still more for the very flattering terms in which such compliance has been notified. At the same time, I would further beg to request you to assure the Right Honourable Secretary of State in Council that, were it possible for anything to increase my fidelity and attachment to the British Government and to my most gracious Sovereign, it would be the honour and kindness thus conferred upon me.

Our native fellow-subjects in India will see from a perusal of the foregoing how the British Government values the good service and high character of its subordinates.

On the 6th November he greatly enjoyed the sight of the opening of the Holburn Viaduct by

the Queen—a special invitation being sent him by the committee of management.

During his stay in London, Syed Ahmed was made an honorary member of the Athenæum Club. Whilst in England, he published a pamphlet, called 'Strictures upon the Present Government System in India,' which shall be mentioned hereafter, when treating of his evidence given before the Education Commission when member of the Legislative Council.

In 1870 he published 'A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed, and Subjects Subsidiary thereto,' in English, the publishers being Messrs Trübner & Co. These Essays are twelve in number, and were translated by a friend. They show an extraordinary depth of learning, great toleration of other religions, great veneration for the essential principles of true Christianity, and should be attentively studied by all interested in religion. At present Mohammedanism is to the mass of the English nation an utterly unknown and bitterly calumniated faith—a sort of religious bogy, just as Bonaparte was a material bogy to our ancestors at the commencement of the present century. It is popularly supposed to be a religion of the sword, and is associated with all that is fanatic, sectarian, and narrow-minded. Readers who, like the majority of Englishmen, are still under this

hallucination, will rise, I venture to assert, with very different ideas from an attentive perusal of Syed Ahmed's Essays. Let them get and read them. Our author, of course, breaks many a lance with Sir William Muir, his intimate friend, over the latter's Life of Mohammed; and impartial critics will, I think, agree in giving their verdict on many points against that learned author. *Apropos* of Mohammedanism being accused of being a religion of the sword, Syed Ahmed writes :—

The remark that "the sword is the inevitable penalty for the denial of Islam," is one of the gravest charges falsely imputed to this faith by the professors of other religions, and arises from the utter ignorance of those who make the accusation. Islam inculcates and demands a hearty and sincere belief in all that it teaches ; and that genuine faith which proceeds from a person's heart cannot be obtained by force or violence. Judicious readers will not fail to observe that the above-quoted remark is entirely contrary to the fundamental principles of the Moslem faith, wherein it is inculcated in the clearest language possible : "Let there be no forcing in religion ; the right way has been made clearly distinguishable from the wrong one" (chap. x. 98). And also : "If the Lord had pleased, all who are on the earth would have believed together; and wilt thou force men to be believers ? No man can believe but by the permission of God, and He will pour out His indignation on those who will not understand" (chap. ii. 257).

The principle upon which Moses was allowed to use

the sword to extirpate all idolaters and infidels, without exception of one single individual, is by no means applicable to Islam. Mohammedanism grasped the sword, not to destroy all infidels and pagans, not to force men to become Moslems at the sword's point, but only to proclaim that eternal truth, the unity of the Godhead, throughout the whole extent of the then known globe.

According to Islam, the best and the most meritorious act is the preaching and making generally known the existence of one invisible God. It could hardly be expected that, in the infidel countries, there could be sufficient personal security for such Moslems who might choose to inculcate by precept, exhort by preaching, and practise openly the worship of the unity of God; and therefore appeal was at once made to the sword in order to establish the superiority of the Moslem power, and to ensure security and tranquillity for such Mohammedans as might choose to preach the wholesome doctrine of their faith, and to live in peace in those countries, so that their habits, conduct, and manner of living might serve as an example for the unbelievers. The effect so desirable—viz., that the Moslems might live in peace, and preach the worship of the one only true God—was only attainable by one of three ways. First, the voluntary conversion of the people; secondly, the establishment of peace and security by means of alliances, offensive and defensive; and thirdly, by conquest. As soon as the desired object was secured, the sword was immediately sheathed. If tranquillity was established by either of the last two methods, the parties had no authority to interfere with the religious observances of the subject or of each other; and every person was at liberty to observe, unmolested by any one, all the ceremonies and rites, whatever they might be, of his creed.

The preceding observations likewise show clearly the gross mistake into which some writers have fallen, when they assert that in Islam "toleration is unknown." But in saying this, we do not mean to deny that some of the later Mohammedan conquerors were guilty of cruelty and intolerance, but that the doctrines of our religion ought not to be judged from their actions. We must, however, inquire, in order to discover whether they acted according to it or not, and we shall then arrive at an undeniable conclusion that their actions were in opposition to the doctrines of their religion. But at the same time, we find that those conquerors who were anxious to act according to the doctrines of their religion did practise tolerance, and granted amnesty, security, and protection to all their subjects, irrespective of caste or creed. History furnished us with innumerable instances of the tolerance of Moslem conquerors, and we shall here quote a few remarks made by various Christian writers, which prove the tolerant spirit of Islam.

A Christian writer who, of all others, is the least expected to show any partiality towards Islam, in an article upon the general history of Spain thus expresses himself upon the subject: "One remarkable feature," says he, "of their [the Ommiades of Spain] rule deserves mention, as it contrasts them so favourably with the contemporary and subsequent rulers of Spain even to the present time [nineteenth century], and that is their universal toleration in religious matters."—Chambers's Encyclopædia.

Godfrey Higgins writes on the subject as follows: "Nothing is so common as to hear the Christian priests abuse the religion of Mohammed for its bigotry and intolerance. Wonderful assurance and hypocrisy! Who was it expelled the Moriscoes from Spain because

they would not turn Christians? Who was it murdered the millions of Mexico and Peru, and gave them all away as slaves, because they were not Christians? What a contrast have the Mohammedans exhibited in Greece! For many centuries the Christians have been permitted to live in the peaceable possession of their properties, their religion, their priests, bishops, patriarchs, and churches; and at the present moment the war between the Greeks and Turks is no more waged on account of religion than was the late war between the negroes in Demerara and the English. The Greeks and the negroes want to throw off the yoke of their conquerors, and they are both justified in so doing. Wherever the Caliphs conquered, if the inhabitants turned Mohammedans, they were instantly on a footing of perfect equality with the conquerors. An ingenious and learned dissenter, speaking of the Saracens, says, 'They persecuted nobody; Jews and Christians all lived happy among them.'"

But though we are told that the Moriscoes were banished because they would not turn Christians, I suspect there was another cause. I suspect they, by their arguments, so gained upon the Christians, that the ignorant monks thought that the only way their arguments could be answered was by the Inquisition and the sword; and I have no doubt they were right, as far as their wretched powers of answering them extended. In the countries conquered by the Caliphs, the peaceable inhabitants, whether Greeks, Persians, Sabeans, or Hindus, were not put to the sword as the Christians have represented, but after the conquest was terminated, were left in the peaceable possession of their properties and religion, paying a tax for the enjoyment of this latter privilege, so trifling as to be an oppression to

none. In all the history of the Caliphs, there cannot be shown anything half so infamous as the Inquisition, nor a single instance of an individual burnt for his religious opinion, nor, do I believe, put to death in a time of peace for simply not embracing the religion of Islam. No doubt the later Mohammedan conquerors, in their expeditions, have been guilty of the great cruelties these Christian authors have sedulously laid to the charge of their religion; but this is not just. Assuredly religious bigotry increased the evils of war, but in this the Mohammedan conquerors were not worse than the Christians. . . .

John Davenport, in his 'Apology,' writes in the following strain: "It was at the Council of Nicea that Constantine invested the priesthood with that power whence flowed the most disastrous consequences, as the following summary will show: the massacres and devastations of nine mad crusades of Christians against unoffending Turks, during nearly two hundred years, in which many millions of human beings perished; the massacres of the Anabaptists; the massacres of the Lutherans and Papists, from the Rhine to the extremities of the North; the massacres ordered by Henry VIII. and his daughter Mary; the Massacre of St Bartholomew in France; and forty years more of other massacres, between the time of Francis I. and the entry of Henry IV. into Paris; the massacres of the Inquisition, which are more execrable still, as being judicially committed; to say nothing of the innumerable schisms, and twenty years of popes against popes, bishops against bishops; the poisonings, assassinations; the cruel rapines and insolent pretensions of more than a dozen popes, who far exceeded a Nero or a Caligula in every species of crime, vice, and wickedness; and lastly, to

conclude this frightful list, the massacre of twelve millions of the inhabitants of the New World, executed crucifix in hand! It surely must be confessed that so hideous and almost uninterrupted a chain of religious wars, for fourteen centuries, never subsisted but among Christians, and that none of the numerous nations stigmatised as heathen ever spilled a drop of blood on the score of theological arguments."

The celebrated Mr Gibbon, the greatest of the modern historians, and whose authority cannot be doubted or questioned, writes as follows: "The wars of the Mohammedans were sanctified by the Prophet; but, among the various precepts and examples of his life, the Caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelieving. Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mohammed; but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the other nations of the earth. The polytheists and idolaters who were ignorant of his name might be lawfully extirpated; but a wise policy supplied the obligations of justice, and, after some acts of intolerant zeal, the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindustan have spared the pagodas of that devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus were solemnly invited to accept the more perfect revelation of Mohammed; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship."

The author of an article entitled "Islam as a Political System," inserted in the 'East and the West,' thus expresses himself on the subject under consideration: "Mohammed was the only founder of a religion who was at the same time a temporal prince and a warrior. Their power lay exclusively in restraining violence and

ambition; his temptation was ambition, and the sword was at his disposal. It is therefore to be expected that, making religion a means of temporal power, and having obtained that sway over the minds of his followers by which they accepted as law and right whatever he chose to promulgate, his code should be found at variance with all others, and even in opposition to those dictates of justice which are implanted in the breasts of all men. If, then, we find that it is not so—if we find him establishing maxims of right in international dealings, of clemency in the use of victory, moderation in that of power, above all, of toleration in religion,—we must acknowledge that, amongst men who have run a distinguished course, he possesses peculiar claims to the admiration of his fellow-creatures." Again he says: "Islam has never interfered with the dogmas of any faith, never persecuted, never established an Inquisition, never aimed at proselytism. It offered its religion, but never enforced it; and the acceptance of that religion conferred coequal rights with the conquering body, and emancipated the vanquished States from the conditions which every conqueror, since the world existed up to the period of Mohammed, has invariably imposed. For its proselytes there was no obligation of denial and revilement of their former creed; the repetition of a single phrase was the only form required or pledge exacted. A spirit the very reverse of this" (intolerance), remarks the same author, "is evinced in every page of the history of Islam, in every country to which it has extended; so that in Palestine a Christian poet (Lamartine) has exclaimed, twelve centuries after the events to which we are referring, 'The Mohammedans are the only tolerant people on the face of the earth;' and

an English traveller (Slade) reproaches them with being too tolerant."

What a contrast do these remarks of so many impartial and liberal Christian writers afford to the unsupported assertion of Sir William Muir—"Toleration is unknown in Islamism!"

Copies of these Essays were sent by Syed Ahmed to the Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt, with the following letters:—

To His Imperial and Royal Majesty,
THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

May it please your Imperial and Royal Majesty,—Actuated not less by a love and reverence for the founder of our holy religion than impelled by a strong sense of duty to demonstrate to the present age, as far as my humble powers permit, the truth and wisdom of our holy religion, and to show that the onward march of science and enlightenment is in every respect compatible with Islam, during my residence in this imperial metropolis, whither I have come from India to have the honour of beholding the beneficent countenance of her Britannic Majesty, under whose mild and gentle sway India is now blessed with so much liberty and happiness, I have, with the blessing of Allah and his holy apostle, completed the first volume of 'A Series of Essays upon the Life of Mohammed,' which volume, I humbly hope, may be permitted to be laid at your Majesty's imperial and royal feet, and that it may also be so fortunate as to be honoured by the approval and favour of so true and faithful a follower of our Prophet as is your Imperial and Royal Majesty. That your Imperial and Royal Majesty may long continue to grace, defend, and strengthen

the throne of the Caliphs is, and ever will be, the earnest and heartfelt prayer of the humble writer.

LONDON, *18th July* 1870.

To His Highness ISMAIL PASHA,
Khedive of Egypt, &c., &c.

ILLUSTRIOUS HIGHNESS,—The highly laudable and successful endeavours of your Highness to give to Egypt the full benefit of the blessings derived from the diffusion of knowledge and the spread of education, have excited my unfeigned respect and admiration, but of which it is my misfortune not to be able to give your Highness a better proof than in requesting that your Highness will be pleased to accept the accompanying first volume of a work which I have completed while in this country, and which I hope will prove that the most liberal views and opinions upon the sciences and knowledge in general are perfectly consistent with the precepts and practice of our holy religion.—I have, Illustrious Highness, the distinguished honour to remain your Illustrious Highness's most obedient servant,

SYED AHMED.

LONDON, *18th July* 1870.

CHAPTER IX.

SYED AHMED'S LETTERS FROM ENGLAND—JOURNEY ACROSS INDIA—THE BARODA—MISS CARPENTER—A RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION—SEA-SICKNESS—ADEN—EGYPT—MARSEILLES.

WHILST in England, Syed Ahmed wrote a series of letters which appeared in the 'Allygurh Institute Gazette' in Urdu, and from which I now give translated extracts:—

"On the 1st April 1869, I left Benares with my two sons, and Chajju my servant. On the 2d we remained at Allahabad, having an interview there with Sir William Muir, and bidding farewell to numerous friends and well-wishers. We left by the night train for Jubbulpore, arriving there the next day, and put up at Mr Palmer's hotel. On asking for a *dak* (the railway was not then finished) to Nagpur, I found to my horror that I ought to have booked one long beforehand, and that not a single *dak* was available for seventeen days. How in all

the world were we to arrive in Bombay by the 9th, the day on which our steamer was to sail? By Mr Palmer's advice, I hired bullocks and a carriage from Messrs Howard & Co., and we got off at 8 P.M. on the 3d. For three days and three nights we travelled without stopping, except for food, the stages for the bullocks being every five miles apart. At Damoh we found the *dak* bungalow full of gentlemen and ladies, so remained under a tree, sent for milk sweetened with sugar, got a fowl, which Chujju cooked, and some *chupattis*, and enjoyed our meal extremely.

"Going from Jubbulpore to Nagpur, the traveller passes through three districts—viz., Seonee, Dewalapur, and Kampti. The road is an excellent one, but passes through many ravines and over rivers, and in some places the bullocks had difficulty in pulling us up, and had to be supplemented by additional ones. On our arrival at Nagpur we went to the railway station, which we found crammed with Englishmen, women, and children. We fortunately got a couple of small rooms in a 'go-down,' and were glad to rest ourselves after the fatigues of the road. Never having come south of Allahabad, I was struck by the differences in the aspect of the country, particularly by the black cotton soil, so different from

that of the North-West Provinces, and the frequent ranges of hills.

"On the 7th, at 9 A.M., we left Nagpur by train, and reached Bombay at mid-day on the 8th. I was greatly struck with the wonderful engineering works on the *ghats*—the tunnels especially seeming to me to be rather the work of Titans than of men. An amusing episode occurred to me at one of the stations. I sent a telegram to a friend which cost Rs. 3. The signaller shortly afterwards came to me and said, 'By omitting two words the message will only cost Rs. 2. Let me have 8 annas, and you will thus save 8 annas, and the company will not have been robbed!' I cut off the two words and presented the signaller with his 8 annas. At Bombay we stayed at the Byculla (Pallinjee) Hotel; and at 6 P.M. on the 10th, the Peninsular and Oriental steamship Baroda steamed out of the harbour with us on board."

The Syed gives a most minute account of the Baroda, the engines, cabins, baths, &c., being much admired by him. The saloon, he wrote, is "heaven!" He laments his want of foresight at not having brought a chair with him:—

"One of my fellow-passengers," he says, "was Major-General Babbington of the Madras Army, who was most kind to us all, and who promised

that we should have no difficulty in getting from Marseilles to Calais, owing to our want of knowledge of French. Another was Miss Carpenter, so well known for her philanthropy and her efforts in the cause of female education in Calcutta and Bombay. I had long and interesting conversations with her upon female and general education, as well as upon other important matters. Her want of knowledge of Urdu and my want of knowledge of English was rather a drawback, but we got on very well by using Mahmud and Khudadad Beg (who joined our party at Bombay) as translators. Miss Carpenter is a native of Bristol, daughter of a Dr Carpenter, and she has made herself famous in her native town by her efforts in educating the children of the poor. Raja Ram Mohan Rai, the Unitarian, was a great friend of hers, and he died at her father's house whilst on a visit. It was his description of the sad state of Indian women that caused her voyage to India. She had a book with her containing opinions on the state of Indian women from many influential natives, and she asked me to contribute mine thereto. I wrote: '*En route* to London I have made the acquaintance of Miss Carpenter—an acquaintance which honours and gives me the highest pleasure. Since I first heard her name in connection with her efforts for

the advancement of Indian women, I have been desirous of making her acquaintance. Thanks to God, that pleasure has now been vouchsafed to me.' Her lofty aims, keen insight, and goodness of heart are evidenced by her efforts in the cause of Indian women. To interest one's self in the education of woman, whom God hath made as an helpmate to man in good works, is worthy of every praise. To do good in every way is most laudable, as if the foundation is good, good results must follow. Even if mistakes be made at the commencement, efforts thus made excite the emulation of others, and the right results will ensue. Efforts for good are sometimes frustrated owing to their being contrary to the manners and customs of those for whose good they are intended. In such cases, it is like going contrary to nature; and by doing so, weapons are forged to prevent any good resulting. God told Joshua to order the sun to stand still, although that was wrong, as the order should have been for the earth to stop; but God knew what was the general opinion on earth at that time, so gave His order in accordance with the same. If thus we do not strive after good in accordance with manners and customs, we shall not have done as God did, and evil will result. In any case, I trust and hope that Miss Carpenter's endeavours may be crowned

with success, and that the men and women of Hindustan, who are really one, will have their hearts enlightened by truth and culture.

"There was an officer of Royal Artillery on board who one night came and sat beside me, and asked me if I was going to London. I answered in the affirmative.

"He said, 'I am no missionary, but an officer of artillery from Madras, where I was told that there were only three true religions—the Hindu, Christian, and Mohammedan. I do not believe this, as there can only be one true religion.' I agreed with him, adding that different religions resting on different foundations could not all be true—that one religion even although there might be many sects in it, must be the true one. He then said that, according to his belief, the Christian was the true one. I said that every one thought his own religion the true one. He replied that others were wrong. I asked him what proof he had of his being right and others wrong,—on which he asked me to contemplate what the Christian race had done; how the English had been blessed by God above all other nations; how they surpassed all other nations in the arts and sciences and philosophy; what a wonderful thing the ship we were in was, and how she speeded through the waters by the appliances

of science. 'You have seen,' he said, 'the wonders of the railway and the telegraph. No other nation is so powerful in war as mine. If any other religion were the true one, God would have blessed it as He has mine.' I told him that all the things he had pointed out to me were worldly matters — they proved nothing as to the truth or otherwise of any religion; that he should remember that God did not give His dearly loved Job or Jesus Christ much in this world; that this world was not for good men, but that they should look forward to a future one. He remained silent for a short time, and I hoped that he had finished, as I am extremely averse to talking on religious subjects, seeing that by doing so friendships are often prevented. Unfortunately, he returned to the subject and said, 'I wish to tell you one thing which is undoubtedly true, and which I firmly believe in—*i.e.*, that no one can enter heaven except through Jesus Christ.' I told him that I had already said that every one stands by his own religion, on which he asked me if I in like manner believed in Mohammed. As this question was slightly against my religious belief, as I do not lean on any man but trust entirely in God, I delayed a little before replying. Thinking over it, I thought that as Mohammed had taught me to trust in God alone, I might

answer in the affirmative, and I did so. He said, 'Do I see, by your hesitation, that you have not that full trust in Mohammed?' I told him that there was something slightly wrong in his question, as Mohammed had taught us to believe in no other way of attaining to the delights of Paradise than by believing in and worshipping the one true God, and that I believed in this as firmly as that I saw the bright star above me. He remained silent, and shortly after left.

"Although this religious discussion was distasteful to me, I was of opinion, with regard to him, that he was a true, humble, and loving Christian; but I am sorry to say that this did not prove to be the case, as after this he never came near me or spoke to me. If I met him and said 'Good morning,' he merely salaamed with his hand. I was several times on the point of going up to him and asking him to pardon anything that I had offended him by saying; but as I did not know him well enough, I did not like to do so, and refrained.

"As regards food arrangements, there are long tables in the saloon, with benches and chairs sufficient to accommodate the whole of the passengers. There is a knife, fork, and spoon for each person. Every one sits where he likes, having first put his card at the place which he

may prefer. This seat is not changed during the voyage. Tea and bread and butter are provided early in the morning; breakfast at 8 or 9; tiffin at mid-day; dinner at 4 P.M.; and tea and coffee, bread and butter and biscuits, at 9 o'clock. There is always a plentiful supply of excellent fruit. The cook and the man who kills and cleans the animals for food are both Europeans. On inquiry, I found that such animals as sheep, goats, &c., are killed by having the principal vein in the neck severed—even Europeans thinking it proper to let out the blood of such animals. As regards fowls, Europeans merely wring their necks; and as this manner of killing them is lawful to Christians in the same way that we Mohammedans deem the eating of fish and locusts lawful without cutting their throats, therefore, according to the tenets of Mohammed the Prophet, the eating of fowls killed in this manner is also lawful for Mohammedans. For these reasons, we ate freely of mutton, beef, chickens, and pigeons —all excellent of their kind. At our first meal sherry and claret glasses were alongside our plates, but we turned them upside down. The tumblers we kept for water. The steward who attended us, thinking that we drank wine, brought us a bottle of some kind; and thinking that I must be the great man of the party, having a long

white beard, began pouring some out for me. I said, 'No, no!' and he stopped, but gave me the names of a number of other wines. I kept on saying 'No, no! only cold water,' and he then removed the wine-glasses and brought us iced water, the liquor made by the Almighty for mankind. After this he never brought us liquor again. I think pork is never given till asked for. So it never came to us!

"We were in high spirits when we started, and enjoyed the cool sea-breeze after the heat of the land. On sitting down to dinner and eating a little, I felt my brain shaking with the motion of the ship, which was tossing a little. The side of my head which was towards the side to which the ship pitched, felt as if a great weight were in it, and the other side felt correspondingly empty. The ship's motions were frequent and continuous, so also was the feeling in my brain. We became uneasy and went on deck, where, after a walk, we felt better. At bedtime we went to bed and slept well. In the morning I rose and repeated the morning prayers, feeling very well. Khudadad Beg was also all right, but Mahmud was silent, and lay down a good deal. Hamid was worst of us all—his head feeling heavy, his mind uneasy, and feeling inclined to be sick. About noon I became bad, and my head was so giddy

that I was unable to rise. Mahmud was not so ill, but hid himself all day and night. Hamid got worse and worse—could not go into the cabin, and lay on deck for four days and nights without eating an atom, and loathing the very name of food. The smell of it made him sick. I was ill for a day and a half, when I became all right. Khudadad Beg kept all right, although he felt slightly ill at times. Chajju was also well, but I have my suspicions that he had been sick. One of the ship's officers, seeing how ill Mahmud was, brought him some medicine in a glass, with a little spirit in it—not wine or brandy, &c., but some other spirit. Mahmud thanked him for so kindly taking the trouble of bringing it for him, but said he would not drink it if there was any spirit in it. The officer urged Mahmud, but he continued firm; so the kind-hearted man went off and brought some medicine in which there was no spirit, and it did Mahmud much good.

"Sunday prayers are repeated the same as on shore. If there is no clergyman on board, the captain reads them. We had the Rev. Mr Taylor of Kampti on board. All the English assembled on deck and seated themselves on chairs and benches, and the clergyman read prayers. I stood silently and respectfully near them (walking every now and then), as God's name should be respected

in every way. I saw the way God was prayed to, and admired His catholicity. Some men bow down to idols; others address Him seated on chairs, with heads uncovered; some worship Him with head covered and beads on, with hands clasped in profound respect; many abuse Him, but He cares nought for this. He is indeed the only one who is possessed of the attribute of catholicity.

"I was thinking thus when the service concluded. One of the passengers, a learned friend, asked me why I did not attend the service, and I said that there was no necessity for my doing so. He said, 'Is there not one God?' I said, 'It is not so in your prayers.' The gentleman said no more.

"There has been a sorrowful event in our ship. Captain —— was brought on board at Bombay in a dying state—the only chance of saving him being a sea-voyage. He died during the night of the 11th. On the 12th, in the afternoon, his body was brought out on a board, covered with cloth; two cannon-balls were fastened to his legs, and the body was placed on the side of the ship. The chaplain repeated prayers; and the board being tilted up, the body fell into the sea as if jumping, and disappeared. The event produced a singular effect upon me; and thinking over his

death and his being thrown into the ocean, I repeated the following stanzas of Sadi :—

> 'When a pure soul has to take leave of the body,
> What matter if it happen on a plank or on land?

When man dies, do what you like—burn him, commit him to the deep, bury him in the earth, —what has been has been, and what is to be is to be.

"On the way to Aden we passed many sailing-vessels and steamers on their way to Bombay, but always at a distance of one or two miles. Only two sailing-vessels came very close to us, which I shall treat of presently. On sighting a vessel by day, flags were run up; and as each nation has a different flag, the nationality of the vessel was ascertained when she ran up hers. One night we met a steamer, and our captain sent for fireworks, which first emitted a red, and then—after a slight explosion—a white light. Another one which burned blue kept alight for several minutes. This conversation, kept up between vessels miles asunder, struck me as very curious and desirable. On the 12th April we met two English sailing-vessels with coal, &c., on board, one of which signalled to us, and flags were run up in reply. I inquired as to the question and answer, and was told that the sailing-vessel had asked the latitude and longitude, and

we had replied, 17° 20′ latitude, and 65° 5′ longitude. The method in which the daily run is measured is very curious and simple. There is a rope with a piece of wood at the end—a quarter-circle—which is frequently thrown over the stern, and is stopped when the sand in a sand-glass runs out at the end of a minute, which is the time the sand takes to empty itself in. The distance thus run in a minute gives the basis of the calculation for the hour. . . .

"The passengers as far as Aden had only two games besides chess—viz., skittles and quoits. At night our ship, as she sped on her way, displaced many small insects, which gleamed and left a stream of light behind us. Many curious flying-fish were seen—shoals of them jumping out of the water on our approach, and flying for thirty or forty yards before falling into the sea. One of them flew into Major Fraser's cabin! . . .

"Shortly after leaving Bombay we got out of sight of land—nothing but water being visible—the heavens rising on all sides out of the ocean like a gigantic lid. This went on for six days and nights; but early on Friday, the 16th April, the Arabian coast came in sight, greatly to my delight. As I gazed upon it, I thought of God having caused our blessed Prophet to be born in it. Major Dodd, Director of Public Instruction

at Nagpur, my great friend, came up to me as I was gazing, and asked me if I had seen the land of the Prophet? I said 'Yes; this is Arabia the blest.' That evening the lofty mountain on which Aden is situated was visible, the light-house to guide us in gleaming brightly from it.

"Early next morning we arrived at Aden—the vessel, casting anchor close to the shore. The journey so far across the ocean had been prosperous and smooth, and I blessed God for permitting it to be so. I hoped that the Red Sea would prove the same. All four of us, with Chajju, got into a small boat, and were rowed to the land, where we found carriages and pairs, horses and donkeys, all ready. There is a Parsi's hotel here, and a number of shops close by. The fort and cantonments are a little over two miles off. We drove to the latter in a carriage and pair. The tanks for water here are wonderful—the date of their construction being unknown. We first of all visited them, and found them to be ten or twelve in number, built one above the other, and very deep. When rain falls it fills the highest, and when it is full, the rest are filled in succession. People say that they were built so that if rain fell for only two hours or so, they would all be filled. Aden being situated on the sea, the water is very brackish—every well in the place being so. For

this reason, therefore, some king of Arabia—prior to the advent of Mohammed—had these tanks excavated to catch the rainfall, and the residents of Aden get all their drinking-water from them. It is popularly supposed here that they were built by King Shaddad. The English have repaired them splendidly, iron railings and *pucka* roads running round them all. Pretty bridges are placed at intervals, and trees which can flourish at Aden adorn the spaces between the tanks. There are benches for tired promenaders, and altogether this hell upon earth has been turned into a little paradise. The heat of Aden is beyond description—not a single blade of green grass or a green tree being visible. Water put out at night to drink is in the morning like hot water, and there is no ice to be got. Drinking-water is very dear, being three pice for a *serai* containing three glasses. Close to the tanks some Parsis and Arabs combined to dig a large one, which also gets filled in its turn. It is of great depth, and there was plenty of water in it at our visit. Horses and cattle drink from it, and I believe each animal's drink costs two annas. I hear that the income from this tank is reserved to the builders for seven years, after which the income will go to Government.

"We afterwards visited the bazaars, where we

came across a couple of shops which sold roasted Indian corn, of which we bought in memory of Hindustan. We also bought bread and meat, and *chupattis* cooked like those at the Kutab, near Delhi; and going to a *masjid*, had our food, and gave away what remained to the beggars.

"There are many races in Aden, but Arabs and Egyptians preponderate. The Somalis are most numerous, but I have not been able to find out what race they are. They speak Arabic, but so badly that I could only understand four or five words. They also did not understand my Arabic well. I was greatly delighted to hear these Somalis talking a little Urdu, which they knew sufficient of to make it easy for a Hindustani to get all necessary work done. The Somalis are also pretty well up in English and French—knowing the former, however, better than the latter. There are several *masjids* here, the largest being the 'Idris,'—the 'Jumma' being the largest convent. On leaving our mosque where we had eaten, I saw a Hindu, to whom I spoke, and found that he was a Marwari from Bombay, and was then a merchant at Aden. He had been here for a long time, having, however, constantly visited Bombay. He told me that there were three Hindu temples in Aden, those of Mahadeo, Hanuman, and another, the name of which I have

forgotten, all of which had been built by contributions from Hindus visiting the place. I was delighted to find that Hindus could come so far across the ocean in steamers without losing their caste. God grant that the Hindus of my part of India will soon take this to heart. All the inhabitants, shopkeepers and others, were very dirty, the Somalis being just like savages. The English certainly are the cleanest of nations, although some of their customs are open to cavil.

"Although the Cantonment at Aden is a small one—only, I believe, having some 300 or 400 English and native soldiers—there is apparently a vast amount of artillery. The Cantonment is well and prettily laid out, and is situated inside the fortress. The bazaars are all near at hand. The so-called fort is really a hill: hills are all round, and the Cantonment is in the valley within. The entrance road was made by the English cutting through a hill. Ten determined men could hold it against an army. Owing to the hills being well fortified, Aden is practically impregnable. The sight of it filled my heart with a sense of British power. It is the outlying sentry on the road to India, and the key to the Red Sea. If trouble were to break out in India, any amount of munitions of war could be poured into it in six days. If a quarrel broke out with

the Egyptian Government, or the French made an attack on that country, an expedition could soon reach Egypt from Aden with food and arms for 50,000 men. I say that it is the key of the Red Sea, because the present force in it is sufficient, if necessary, to prevent a single vessel getting into or out of the Red Sea. It was formerly under the Turks, and was, I think, taken by the English about thirty years ago. Its affairs are now under the government of India. I am told that, prior to the advent of the English, it was in a wretched state, with only one miserable Somali village on the hills, which is still to be seen, I believe. The Turkish Wall was built after the arrival of the English, to separate their fortifications from the soil of Turkey. It is very high and strong, and is defended by guns and Europeans. In it is a gate through which people go to and fro—all incomers, however, having to deposit any arms they may be carrying before being allowed to enter. I am sorry that I was unable to visit it. On the beach is a machine which changes sea-water into good drinking-water, used by the residents. We were greatly amused by numerous Somali boys swimming and diving round the ship like frogs, and calling for *backsheesh*. Any coin thrown into the sea is at once dived after and brought up by them. I counted twenty-

one boys in the water, all of them remaining from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. without ever getting out, and constantly diving for two-anna bits.

"At 5 P.M. on the 17th April we weighed anchor and started for Suez. An Arabian pilot called Mutwalli came on board at Aden who did not know of what race he was (the Adenites call them 'Arkatis'), whose pronunciation of Arabic was similar to that of the Somali, and who was illiterate, and said that he was a native of 'Bari-i-Arab.' He was filthily dirty, but knew a good deal of English and French. I was told that we should pass through the Straits of Babel Mandeb during the night; and as I had always heard that the passage was dangerous, I was very anxious to see it. On nearing it I was awoke by a man whom I had asked to do so, and saw hills—but not very lofty ones—on both sides. The pass appeared to be about three miles broad, and not in the least dangerous; but it may be so from sunken rocks. Perhaps for sailing-vessels or other nations' vessels besides the English it may be dangerous, but our vessel glided through it in perfect safety, although in the night-time. Europeans have certainly brought the science of sailing to the utmost perfection, and can take their vessels to the uttermost parts of the earth in one straight line for hundreds and thousands of miles. If they wish

their vessel to describe a circle, she obeys like a well-trained circus-horse. During the night I saw a very small island called Perim, situated at the very entrance to the Red Sea. It is about three miles long by one broad. The lighthouse is the only building upon it, and some few sepoys are there to signal with flags. A few years ago it was uninhabited, and did not belong to any nationality. Perhaps, according to European international law, any nation that wanted it might take it. Louis Napoleon, Emperor of France, sent a vessel out to take it, which vessel came by a long roundabout way to Aden, where she anchored, intending to take possession of Perim the next morning. The English commanding officer at Aden went on board at night to pay the captain a visit, dined there, and was told by the French officer of the object for which he had come. The English officer took a bit of paper and pencil out of his pocket, and wrote—under the table—a note to the captain of the English steamer then at Aden, telling him to light the fires and get up steam at once. The writer remained chatting with his host, and after a little bade him good night—went straight on board his ship, and steaming out of the harbour, reached Perim during the night, and planted the British flag on it. In the morning the French officer

arrived, and found to his astonishment the English flag flying. He went back much mortified. It is said that Napoleon was greatly incensed when he heard of this, and made numerous representations on the subject in London, but without avail. His object was to get a coaling-station for French steamers.

"On the morning of the 18th April we were in the Red Sea, and a couple of days later fine lofty hills were in sight. On the one side we could see Arabia, on the other Africa. The hills on both sides were barren to a degree—not a sign of a tree or of water was to be seen.

"On the night of the 22d we were roused out of our sleep by the sea pouring in through the port-hole and drenching our beds. We got rather frightened, and took refuge in the saloon, and found that all the cabins on our side had fared similarly—their occupants all running into the saloon! The stewards were called, the port-holes were shut, and the drenched bed-linen carried away. We passed the night as best we could. Mahmud, against my advice, persisted in sleeping on the wet bed-clothes, and got rheumatism in his arm in consequence. It only lasted a day, however. The wind became very high, right in our teeth, and the vessel pitched violently, and I was very ill—my head aching dreadfully, but I

was not actually sick. The English were astonished at my being unwell on such a lovely sea, and said, 'None of us are ill.' I noticed, however, that *some* were—a few very ill indeed! Mirza Khudadad Beg was very ill also; Hamid ditto. On the wind and sea falling, most of us were all right again. A lady said to me, 'Don't drink liquor to get intoxicated—I never touch it myself—but take a small quantity of brandy as a medicine; I will call the steward and tell him to bring you some. You will get well at once.' I thanked her warmly, but said I was unable to touch it.

"On this day we overtook the steamer Ganges, which had left Bombay three days before us. Both vessels saluted with flags, and then had a conversation by means of the same. On the first occasion of this being done, I was under the idea that they could only speak on nautical matters; but I found that I was mistaken, and that a conversation could be kept up on anything under the sun. On this occasion the Ganges asked us to pitch her a rope and tow her, to which we laughingly replied, 'Come along behind us.' This art of talking by means of flags is confined only to the Americans and Europeans. There is a locked signal-book kept on board, in which everything necessary to work the ship is entered in the most simple

manner possible, — so much so, that even men who cannot read well can understand and do their work. This is entirely owing to the fact that all the arts and sciences are treated of in the language that they know. If all the arts and sciences were not given in English, but in Latin, Greek, Persian, or Arabic, the English would be in the same state of ignorance as, I am sorry to say, the masses of Hindustan are buried. Until we assimilate these arts and sciences into our own language, we shall remain in this wretched state.

"On this day I saw Sinai, the mountain of the prophet Moses, and examined it through a telescope. I heard that a Roman Catholic church has existed on its summit for many years. At night we passed the island of Shirwan, which belongs to Africa; but I was unable to see it well owing to the darkness. I was told that there was a station of the Overland Telegraph Company on it. It is but a small island, about eight or ten miles in length, and two or three in breadth.

"On Friday the 23d April, at 7 A.M., we arrived all right at Suez, where we disembarked, and went to the Suez Hotel. We were now in the territory of the Viceroy of Egypt. On entering the hotel, I saw the first signs of being in Turkish territory in the following words, in Arabic, written on the belts of the hotel servants: 'Suez Hotel.' This

hotel is an excellent one—is two-storeyed all round, with good accommodation for travellers. In the centre is a square with a *shamiana*, all decorated with flowers in pots or tubs, laid out tastefully, lining the walls. In the centre of all are tables and chairs for the occupants. Large numbers of donkeys are always at hand to make the tour of the town. A number of the English said they would go and see the Canal, five miles off; and I also intended going, but on hearing that the earth was merely being excavated, I did not care to go. My friend Major Dodd, and some ladies and gentlemen, went off to see it in a three-horse chaise; and I would have gone too if I could have got a carriage, but could not. Many Englishmen went off to it on donkeys, and one English lady also I saw get on a donkey and ride off in splendid style! On an Englishman requiring a donkey, there was a grand *tamasha*—dozens of donkey-boys rushing up to him, elbowing each other out of the way, and entreating him to take their donkeys, crying out, 'Donkey, sir! donkey, sir! Very good, sir!' There was such a row, and such a number of quadrupeds enveloped the would-be rider, that he felt rather uncomfortable, till at length he got on somebody's donkey.

"I walked on the sea-shore, and then to the town, where I saw a very small and narrow

bazaar filled with Egyptians, Turkish, German, and Greek merchants, many of the people talking Arabic. A novel feature to me was that the whole bazaar was paved with wood, which facilitated the carrying off of rain, which apparently does not often fall. There was no sun in the bazaar. I talked a long time with those who talked Arabic, and the three youngsters bought Turkish fezzes and knives. I bought some Arabian bread, which I found to be of excellent flavour. We then went on to see the railway station, where I saw a Turkish officer, who, with the exception of a red cap, was dressed exactly like an Englishman. He had, however, a string of beads in his hand. I saluted him, and he me, but said nothing. Returning to the bazaar, I found a well-to-do man standing with a turban on, and I saluted him, and commenced talking to him in Arabic. His name was Shaikh Ismail, and he was a native of Surbaya in Java. He had his son, Shaikh Usman, about eighteen years old, with him. He was a traveller—was formerly a Syrian, but had been in Java for twenty-five years, and had been to China, Australia, and India. He was in Egypt, he said, merely for pleasure. He spoke a little Urdu. In the Suez Hotel I made the acquaintance of Mohammed Takir, who is a writer in the service of the

Nawab Nazim of Murshedabad, and who had been summoned to his master in London. He was going *viâ* Southampton.

"From Aden to Suez there are lighthouses at all dangerous parts, such as where there is little water or sunken rocks. These are worked by men, a brilliant light being thrown on the water from evening till morning, which can be seen from long distances. Those that I saw were at Perim, Abul Khissan, and Asharfi. The second, that at Abul Khissan, is entirely in the water. The lighters have a solitary life of it, being only relieved every two or three months: I pity their loneliness. That at Asharfi is a very fine one, and is close to Suez. It is 140 feet in height, of iron, and well worth seeing. From Suez to Alexandria the journey is by Egyptian railway, all the officials of which are Egyptian, Turks, or Greeks.

"On the afternoon of Friday, the 23d April, we left Suez by rail. I was under the impression that the country between Suez and Alexandria was a desert, and that we should get no water *en route*. I therefore laid in a supply of three *seraisful* of water. We slept during the night; but I woke up before daylight, and found that we were at a handsome station, well lit up with lamps, just like those in use in India—the name of the

station being Tautana. The night being dark, I could not see the town of this name, which is said to be a large one. In the morning a populous and handsome city came in view, the houses of which looked just like English ones. There were numerous minarets of mosques also. In Egypt the custom is not followed of having two minarets to each mosque, but one is built at any part of the inner square for the calling out of the *azan* (call to prayer). There is a similar single minaret near Delhi, near the Kutab Saheb Dargah, in the mosque of Kuwat-ul-Islam, called the 'Lat of the Kutab Saheb.' I was very pleased at seeing this city *en route*, and on inquiry found that its name was Kafar-uz-Ziat, and that some renowned Bedouin chief is buried there. Soon after daybreak I got out at a station near the Nile, where there is a capital hotel, at which we had coffee and bread and butter. The arrangements in this hotel were exactly the same as at an English one—the attendants only being Turks, dressed in English style, with fezzes on their heads. English and Mohammedans mingled together at the same tables. I never tasted such splendid coffee, dashed with cow's milk, as I tasted here. Soon after leaving, the Nile came in sight, crossed by an excellent though ugly iron bridge, which we went over. The ugliness of

this bridge struck me, as in India our iron bridges are so graceful. We soon reached Damanhour station, which is the last before Alexandria, and arrived at the latter alongside our vessel, getting into her at once. We made ourselves comfortable in the Poona. I was sorry not to have had a look at Alexandria, except the few buildings visible from the sea. The port was crowded with steamers—sailing-vessels and *budgerows,*—one of the former being a French man-of-war, which was then on some business or other. I observed the Viceroy's steamer—a very handsome one, built in England—close by. There were one or two batteries on shore. There was a large house built on purpose for the Viceroy's landing or embarking, but it did not seem to be a beautiful one. Close to it was the lighthouse.

"From the cursory view of Egypt which I got I was astonished. I have seen Malwa, which is thought to be the richest country as regards crops in India; but Egypt beats it into a cocked-hat. Its land seems to be splendidly manured, and the canals, with their branches, are innumerable. As far as I could see, there was not a single field unwatered by a canal. The science of canal-making is hereditary in the Egyptians. On all sides were sluices for regulating the water-supply. Where the land to be irrigated is higher than the canal,

a wheel with buckets is made, which, driven by a donkey, pony, or bullock, carries the water up and throws it into a channel. In India our practice is to throw the water up in baskets worked by two men—and the Egyptian method would certainly be an improvement on it. At one place I saw a well being worked—the water being raised by a Persian wheel similar to, but lighter and less expensive than, those in use in the Karnal and Panipat districts. I saw ploughing going on like ours in India—two horses or ponies, or bullocks or buffaloes, drawing the plough.

"The special train that took us across Egypt consisted of first and second class only, built at Birmingham—the second class, in which my servant Chajju sat, being superior to those in use in India, they having leather cushions. The first-class carriages are exceedingly good and comfortable. In both classes there is room for eight persons—four on one side and four on the other. There are no arrangements for sleeping—each sleeping as in an arm-chair. There are no lavatories, &c., except at stations. I am told that these are the carriages in general use throughout Europe. The engine-drivers, guards, and attendants are all Egyptians or Turks, and are well up to their work, and very careful. What struck me was that all the carriages, pumps,

pillars, rails, and all the various machines in use on this railway, even down to the iron rivets, were of English or French manufacture: not one of them had been made in Egypt or Turkey. There is certainly one thing in favour of the Egyptians, contrasted with natives of India—*i.e.*, that they can use the above materials, which my unfortunate fellow-countrymen cannot. The reason why the Egyptians can do this is, that all the scientific words necessary have been brought into use in their language, and this must be the case with us before we can rise to their level. One matter which grieved me was the dirty state of the railway and stations—the lanterns looking as if they had not been cleaned for months, and the beautiful iron pillars for giving water to the engine being inches deep in dirt. The same applies to the canals, the banks of which were perfectly untrimmed—being just as they were when the earth was shovelled up and thrown on them. There is no doubt that the European sucks in a love of cleanliness and beauty in all things with his mother's milk. The people of other lands have it not.

"About noon on the 24th April we left Alexandria for Marseilles, and I found myself for the first time on the Mediterranean. Our pilot was Alhaj Ahmed Baggri, a native of Alexandria, a

very able and fine-looking man, and very well dressed, having on a long cloth coat similar to an English one, with trousers of the Egyptian pattern —baggy above and tight below—a shirt beneath the coat, a shawl round his waist, and a red fez on his head, with a very small turban. He was a well-read man in Arabic, talking that language fluently and well, as also English and French. He and I saw a good deal of each other, conversing in Arabic whenever there was an opportunity. He praised the Government of Egypt, of Cairo, and of Alexandria. When he found out that I was descended from the Bani Hashim Syed Rizwi, he became most friendly and respectful. Not a word of Urdu did he know—nor any geography, not even having heard of Delhi! He asked me how large was English rule in Hindustan, and whether there were any other rulers, and I told him all about the country—its cities, &c., and the English Government system. The Poona was a larger, better, and a faster vessel than the Baroda. She was built in 1862, and is 307 feet long, 41 feet wide, and 31 feet deep. The engines are 600-horse power, and are of a new sort, the whole being open to view. The Poona is a vessel of 2200 tons, and has a crew of 121—all Europeans. The captain, who has been at Bombay, knows Urdu slightly and

French well. Some of my former fellow-travellers had left us for Southampton or Trieste, and we had received some new passengers, so that altogether we were now 100 on board. I was glad that Major Dodd, Miss Carpenter, and other friends were amongst us. A new thing on this ship was the arrangements of the bath-room. On the other side there was no use for hot water, but on this side Europe commences and the cold is felt. In the bath-rooms, therefore, there are the following excellent arrangements. The bath is the same as on the Suez side, except being of iron; there are two pipes and three taps, by turning one of which cold water rushes in—by turning another, steam rushes in and warms the water in five minutes—the third empties the bath.

"The day we left, Major Dodd said to me after dinner, 'Now you are in Europe.' I was delighted at my first day in it, and told him so. Major Dodd then said, 'You have left the land of the Prophet and come into that of the Kaffirs.' Although what he said was not what I could say was bad, and what he said harshly was with reference to his fellow-countrymen, I did not like it at all, and was displeased. I thought to myself how uncivil and impolite such a saying was, and wondered how it should have been said by a mild

and just Director of Public Instruction. I waited a little, but thought I would not say this; I said, 'Do not say that; say rather that I have come to the land of the "people of the Book."' For hours after, however, I could not forget this saying of his, and wondered what sort of disposition his was. At last I came to the conclusion that he had not said it from bigotry, but that it had escaped him by chance, and I therefore erased from my mind all feeling of displeasure.

"Amongst the new passengers whose acquaintance I made was that of Mr Fitzpatrick, formerly Deputy-Commissioner of Delhi, who was most kind to me. One day we were talking of the good and the evil of the Panjabi administration, and I said, 'Yes, it is a despotic Government, and undoubtedly a thousand times better than that of the Sikhs. Perhaps the Panjabis are happy and contented, as they have been taken out of the fire and put in the sun; but *we* are not pleased with it. If you want to know the opinions of those who were formerly in the regulation provinces, ask the inhabitants of Delhi, Panipat, Rohtak, Hissar, Lirsa, &c., as to the goodness or otherwise of the non-regulation system. As far as I know, these people believe that one of the punishments meted out to Delhi, &c., was the making them over to the Panjab non-regulation

Government. The truth is, that in these days people do not like a despotic rule, nor are there now the benefits which, amongst a thousand blots, were to be found in former despotic Governments. It is impossible that these benefits can exist now in any despotic Government; and those who suppose that a despotic Government would now be far better than a constitutional one are entirely wrong. It is just as if a man who only saw a grove of trees in the autumn, could give a correct opinion as to how it would look in spring.'

"One great pleasure to me on board the Poona was meeting M. de Lesseps, who, as all the world knows, is the maker of the Suez Canal, and who, although many of the first engineers of the age asserted the impossibility of its being made, stuck to his firm belief in its constructibility, and said he would do it himself. He did it, and has now united two oceans. M. de Lesseps was with the Prince of Wales on his Royal Highness's visit to the Canal, and came with him from Suez in the Poona to see it. It was on the second day of our voyage that I heard about him. He does not know English; but the captain, who knows French, introduced me to him, and M. de Lesseps was most kind to me, and shook me warmly by the hand. I was delighted to find that he spoke a little Arabic, and conversed with him to some

extent in that language. From that day he always met me cordially, and we sat for hours daily at the same table writing. One day he told, before a lot of people, the story of the Suez Canal, and mentioned several old traces of the time of Moses found in its neighbourhood. He told me that when I returned from England, he hoped the vessel that I would be in would pass through the Canal, as he thought that six months would not elapse before it was open to vessels of all sizes. It was a very great pleasure and honour to me to meet a man whose determination and pluck were equal to his science, and who has not his equal in the whole world.

"The day before reaching Marseilles, all the English in the ship agreed to present M. de Lesseps with an address, congratulating him on his success with the Canal; and the address was presented to him after dinner on the 28th April. Captain Methven first of all made a long speech, then Mr Ousely, then General Japp, then Mr Bartlett, then Mr Saunders, and then the address signed by all the passengers on board was presented. He stood up to receive it, and made a lengthy speech of thanks in French. The best parts of the speeches which are worth remembering are: 'It is undoubtedly but proper,' said General Japp, 'that the Canal, instead of being

called that of Suez, should be known as "the Lesseps Canal."' I perfectly agree with him that a man like him should have every possible honour—an honour, especially, which would hand his name down to posterity—shown him. In the course of his speech M. de Lesseps said that 'I shall feel more grateful and honoured if, instead of the Canal being called by my name, it be called by that of "France."' When I was told by a friend of this, my heart was filled with gladness, and I applauded the generosity of the brave man who desired his country's fame rather than his own pleasure and honour. I lamented the degeneracy of my own race, who are, as a rule, steeped in envy and all uncharitableness, and saw only too plainly that by such bad habits they are dishonoured and unfortunate. It must be noted here that in Egypt the Canal is known from highest to lowest as the 'French' Canal. This great work of the French constitutes a new epoch.

"I was astonished, by the by, by what my friend Major-General Babbington wrote in Miss Carpenter's book, on being requested to write something. He wrote that 'the natives of India are heartless and ungrateful.' These words showed me that, in spite of his apparent pleasure in mixing with us Indians, in his heart he had but a poor estimation of us, and the consequence is that

Englishmen and Hindustanis are not friends. Hindustanis have queer ideas about the English, and the English have other ideas about the Hindustanis. There are no doubt errors on both sides.

"Nasiban, *ayah* to Mrs Couper, the wife of the Deputy-Commissioner of Lucknow, was on board, and she was as wonderful a person in her way as the Suez Canal is a work. She is a Pathani of Cawnpore, and she told me this was her twenty-first trip to Europe, being always employed in attendance on children. She knew English well, and had been to England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Portugal, &c. I thought to myself that she was better than most men. I was once standing talking with her, Major Dodd, my good friend, being by, and I asked her what her religion was. She said, 'I am a Mohammedan.' Major Dodd, either in fun or sneeringly, said, 'Of *your* religion.' I most cordially and pleasantly agreed with him, and said that all men are my lineal brothers, being born of our common ancestor; and all Mohammedans are my brethren in religion, being believers in one God.

"On the voyage to Marseilles there were many interesting sights. For three days nothing was visible but water; but on the 27th, about 4 P.M., the coast of Italy and Sicily came in sight, and

the farther we went, the more wonderful became the sights—cities following one upon the other in numbers. On our right was Italy, on the left Sicily; and on entering the Straits of Messina, these countries were so near that it almost seemed that I could put one hand on the one and the other hand on the other.

"I wanted very much to see Mount Etna, but was unsuccessful in the Straits; but the moment we got out of them, it stood in front of us, and was quite plainly seen through binoculars. It was not in action. I was disappointed that we passed Capria and the Straits of Bonifacio at night—the former the residence of Garibaldi. Corsica, the birthplace of the great Napoleon, was also missed by us. I had a great desire to view the cottage of Garibaldi, the generous and the brave—that cottage which is more honoured and revered than the palaces of powerful rulers—and I regret extremely that owing to the darkness this pleasure was denied me. Stromboli, the crater on the island of Sardinia, was visible to the naked eye, and I saw it very well through the binoculars. It is 3000 feet high, and when active the flames are seen from long distances. It was not active when we passed. I cannot describe the beauties of the towns which I saw on the shores of Italy and Sicily. English towns are in

themselves beautiful, but the sight of these lovely towns, nestling at the foot of and on the mountains made by nature, made a powerful impression upon me. There were many lovely churches built on lofty spurs on the mountains. Railways run along the shores and hills of Italy—long iron bridges spanning the creeks and rivers—and stations being dotted along the line. All these add to the beauty of the scenery, and must be seen to be appreciated. Messina, the capital of Sicily, is a large and splendid city, and we passed quite close to it, seeing it all very plainly. The walls of the citadel come down to the sea, and picturesque batteries line the shore. At one time Sicily was for long in the hands of the Mohammedans, but I could not see any buildings built by our race. That there must be some traces of our occupation is, I think, certain.

"The next morning, on emerging from the Straits of Bonifacio, Toulon, a French city, came in sight, and I saw for the first time in my life, although I had heard of it, a wonderful picture—viz., twelve line-of-battle ships, all manœuvring together, and firing shotted guns. Like soldiers the vessels paraded,—sometimes being in twos, &c., and then forming line—sometimes steaming away, and then returning like leaves blown about from the tree. When the numerous shells struck

the water, pillars of water like fountains were thrown up, and it was where these rose up that we knew the shells had fallen. It was a wonderful sight, seen by me for the first time in my life.

"I had been told that the waves in the Mediterranean were very big, and that vessels were much damaged by them; also, that hurricanes were frequent. As I had suffered whenever the weather was rough, I was much afraid on this point; but, for a wonder, the sea was perfectly calm, like water in a cup. The passengers said that this was very unusual. Several whales were sighted, and showed themselves freely before diving down again. Sometimes two or three could be seen playing about together, just like kittens. Those that I saw were the size of Ganges boats.

"On the 29th April, at night, we reached Marseilles all safe. The docks here are very fine, large ships being able to lie alongside of them. Our vessel was moored to one, and we walked ashore. Prior to arriving, all the luggage was brought up from the hold, and piled on deck and ticketed. On the arrival of the vessel, the French Customs officers came on board, and the whole of the baggage was made over to them. In the large Custom-house the boxes were

ranged on tables according to the letters of the alphabet, and we all assembled in an adjoining room, which was comfortably furnished with tables and chairs. In a short time a narrow door opened into the large room, and the travellers all crowded to get in. An official, however, only allowed a certain number in, who opened their baggage for the inspection of the officials. The search was conducted very quietly and easily, the officials sometimes merely asking gentlemen if they had anything dutiable; and on their replying in the negative, the boxes would be shut up. Others again, when told that there was a certain amount of dutiable articles, took the traveller's word for it, and assessed him accordingly. We had ten boxes with us, and amongst other things in them were a pair of new shawls wrapped up in a separate parcel. Some of my friends told me that, although they were not subject to duty, being for wear, it would be as well not to keep them separate. I accordingly opened the parcel, and put the shawls with my other clothes. On my boxes being opened, Khudadad Beg, Hamid, and Chajju went into the room, and were asked if they had only wearing apparel and nothing liable to duty. Khudadad Beg said they had nothing. He was asked if he had any tobacco, and replied in the negative. He was told he might take his

boxes away, and porters carried them outside, and marked them as having been examined. The same procedure went on at other tables, and the whole examination did not probably last longer than an hour and a half.

"With regard to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, which had so far brought us on our way to England, I think that the arrangements for the comfort of travellers on board their vessels are excellent. I made over all my luggage to their agent in Bombay, and they were responsible for its transit through Egypt. The names of the passengers who were to occupy the different railway carriages were affixed by an agent of the Company to each carriage. Some of the English passengers complained of the food from Bombay to Suez; but I thought that rather unreasonable, as it is impossible to have meat very good in a warm climate. The meat on the Europe side was such as I have never before tasted, and altogether the passengers should be very grateful to the Company.

"On landing at Marseilles I saw numerous cabs and omnibuses, and a number of very gentlemanly men standing about. These were the hotel commissionaires, who at once asked me what hotel I was going to. I said, 'The Hotel de Louvre,' as we had beforehand arranged to go there. The

hotel commissionaire at once brought up his omnibus, and put all our luggage on it, we having no trouble with it whatever. Other passengers joined us, and we drove off to the hotel. It was night as we drove through the first European city that I had ever been in, and I felt almost off my head as I gazed from one side of the streets—all splendidly lit up—to the other, and saw the rows of such brilliant shops as I had never seen before. The Dewali illuminations in India were nothing to them. The shop-fronts were brilliant with goods, and their glass doors and windows were often ten feet long by as many feet bread. The wares were all visible from the outside, and were so beautifully arranged that they resembled a garden. They were lighted up with lamps and candelabra. The street-lamps were also extremely well lit up with gas. As I had never before seen any city so brilliant,—ay, not even the residences of Indian nobles are so,—I was completely overcome, and wondered how it all was done. In one street there were a couple of shops which were particularly brilliant, their roofs also being of glass; whilst inside were various plants and creepers, including cypress-trees in china pots—beautiful chairs all about, and many people sitting in them, some few of them women —the whole lit up with gas. I thought that there

must be a marriage going on in them, and that they were on this account so well got up; but I found out afterwards that they were merely public refreshment-houses or *cafés*, and that there were great numbers of them. How good God is, that He enables even workmen to refresh themselves in such paradises as could never have been conceived by Jamshed!

"The Hotel de Louvre is a wonderfully good one. The open space inside is oval, with a glass roof to keep out rain and snow, and is surrounded with rooms. There are seven storeys, and the whole are brilliantly lighted with gas. Our rooms were on the fifth storey, as all those below were occupied. We ascended 120 steps before reaching our rooms, which we found beautifully furnished. I felt inclined for some tea, but the servant who showed us up having left, I was at a loss how to call a servant, and as to who should go down all that distance to call one. It struck me that European hotels had electric bells, by touching which one summoned the servants. I looked about for one, when all of a sudden I saw on the wall a lovely ivory flower, and thinking this must be one, I touched it gently, and to my delight it acted. In a couple of minutes a servant appeared, and I got my tea. I was curious to know how he knew the room to come to when

the bell rang; so the next morning I went to the servants' room, where I found a bell, with a board beneath it with a number of pigeon-holes in it. When the bell rang, the number of the room showed itself in one of the pigeon-holes, and then, after a minute or so, disappeared gradually. This was to enable the servant, should he have been absent when the bell rang, to have time to see the number of the room.

"Marseilles is not one of the largest cities in France, as it has only lately become populous. At present, according to the census, it has 300,131 inhabitants. The engineering firms have 7000 labourers. There are fifty-two steam soap-factories, which turn out 1,680,000 maunds of soap yearly. There are twenty-eight steam oil-presses, which make 112,000 maunds of oil yearly. Fifty thousand red fezzes are made every year. There are many churches, a museum, public libraries, picture-galleries, theatres, and a zoological garden.

"We remained here Friday the 30th of April, in order to see this lovely city by day. We hired a two-horse carriage, and went round most of it. I cannot describe its beauties, cleanliness, and the splendour of its shops. The men and women were well clad and good-looking. The museum is a splendid building, which was being added to

when we saw it. I was greatly pleased with the beauty of the Zoological Garden, which is filled with curious animals. In one enclosure giraffes were walking about. During the winter they have a warm house, on the walls of which appear the Mohammedan flag and the following words in Arabic: 'Wondrous are the animals created by the Almighty.' There is an elephant also, which is the wonder of the crowd. It is of medium size, but very thin, and is shut up in a house. There is a skeleton of a huge fish, which is supported on iron posts about the height of a man. This fish is twenty-one paces long, and is well worth seeing. One of the finest of the new buildings in Marseilles is the new cathedral, which is built on a small hill, and is made of beautifully white stone. I went inside and admired the exquisite workmanship. Where the bishop preaches there is a life-size bust in marble of Mary, who is represented as having Christ in her lap. The church was thronged with visitors when I was there, and outside on the hill there were a number of shops as at a fair, many of them being coffee and drinking shops. From this hill we had a lovely view of the city, looking down upon all its loftiest buildings. There were many conveyances driving about on the hill. The cathedral is reached by several hundred

steps. I was astonished at seeing the manner in which the carriages drove up the steep and slippery roads. Going down-hill, the drag is put on the two hind-wheels, and by descending slowly there is no danger. At night we went out again to see the city, and again saw the fairy scenes of the previous night. There was a very handsome building, which the hotel commissionaire told me was a *casino* used for concerts. I went in and found it beautifully fitted up, like a garden—full of lamps and glass-work—with hundreds of chairs and tables at which people were drinking wine or coffee. Waiters were in attendance to provide anything that one might want, and the stage was beautifully got up, and was occupied by players and singers. Any one could get in for about six annas. I remained watching the performance and the people, and soon after left. Not even in fables have I ever heard what we saw that night.

"On Saturday, the 30th April, we left Marseilles. We drove to the station in the same hotel omnibus which had brought us there, our baggage being put on by the servants, and were accompanied by the hotel commissionaire, who took our tickets for us and saw us off. We had not the slightest bother about our tickets, as is, alas! so often the case in India. When we

left Marseilles the train carried us swiftly and smoothly through plains and fields, and past many villages—a different spectacle, with its quiet beauties, to the town of Marseilles, with its places and things made by man. The beauty, freshness, and verdure of the country, the hills and dales, the cypress-like and wide-spreading trees, verdancy and beauty which gladdened the heart, had their beauty doubled by the skill of man. As far as the eye could see, the land was beautifully parcelled out in fields and enclosures—the former of grass, green and verdant. Canals were frequent. Red flowers were numerous in the green fields, and glittered like stars in the night. Thousands of acres were planted with vines, in the same way as thousands of acres in Fattehgarh and Meerut potatoes, or in Ghazipur roses, are grown. It was wonderful to see the hills covered on all sides from top to bottom with these vines seeming as if they had been put on oval towers. The trees were not high, and were branching out in green twigs, which added to their beauty. I recited Sadi's lines—

> 'The earth looked as if covered with pieces of lace;
> The grapes hung on the trees like stars in the sky.'

"On reaching Lyons, we all got out and had some refreshment in the rooms. We also bought some food and fruit, and took away two bottles of

water, and enjoyed them all, with laughter and talk, when night came on. At 7.30 A.M. on the 2d May we reached Paris, and remained there for a couple of days. Hotel commissionaires were present, as at Marseilles; and on mentioning the Hotel Meurice, at which I wanted to stay, owing to having heard that Englishmen frequented it, and that therefore English was spoken there, the commissionaires brought up two carriages, and we drove to the hotel. The coachman asked me some questions in French, which, of course, was Greek to me; and it was just the same with him when I spoke to him in Urdu or English! I was not much struck with the architectural beauty of Meurice's Hotel. The dining-room and appearance of the servants and their dress were nothing like those of the Marseilles hotel, which was still vividly impressed on my mind's eye. After dinner we did not go out to look about us, as it was Sunday. We were wrong, as in Paris all the shops and public places are open on Sunday. In front of the hotel was a broad square, seemingly miles in extent, with a fine entrance, and splendid iron railings all round. Inside were canals, ponds, and fountains, life-size sculptures, beds of flowers, lovely walks, handsome trees, and lovely green grass. The whole was a mass of green. Thousands of chairs were scattered about, and the place

crowded daily with well-dressed men, women, and children. Refreshments were procurable. I walked all over it, blessed my good fortune, and told the commissionaire to take me to some other beauties. He said, 'Let us go to Versailles, which is open to-day, this being the first Sunday of the month. It is well worth a visit.' We walked with him; but as I had done a lot of walking, I was tired. As I passed through streets and bazaars, however, my wonder increased, and I felt no fatigue at times. I do not know how far we walked, but saying, 'O God, O God!' we passed into the door of an enormous building. There was a great crowd, which all made for another door. The commissionaire stopped us, and said he would go and take tickets, which he did at once, and said, 'Come on.' I thought that the door we were going through led into Versailles, when I found myself in a splendid railway station, with a train ready to start! I felt quite angry, as I had been travelling the whole of the previous night on the railway, and was tired by the long walk. I cannot tell how angry I was, and how disinclined to enter the train. The stupid commissionaire had, without my permission, taken second-class tickets. There are two classes: the first, in which you sit inside; and the second, in which you sit outside. When

I found that I should have to sit outside, I was still further enraged; and when I heard that our destination was thirty miles off, I was so angry that I nearly got out of the train. Before I could do so, however, the engine whistled, and we were off! Helpless and annoyed I was; but I soon forgot all my troubles when I saw, from the elevation at which I was, the beauties of the landscape, &c. I said that the commissionaire had done very wisely in seating us on the top. I was so delighted that I was prepared to travel any distance.

"On arriving at Versailles we descended, and after going a short distance from the station, we found a locked iron gate, through which I saw houses, lovely gardens laid out with flowers, canals, ponds, and fountains. I knew then that this was the famous palace in which former kings of France used to reside, and which is still kept up as it was in olden days. It is opened on the first Sunday of every month, to afford the public an opportunity of seeing its beauties and wonders, and enjoying an outing and a share in the tastes of a king. The site of this royal palace was once a great open plain. King Louis XIII. one day was hunting, and came alone here. With difficulty he got a roof to cover him. The air of the plain pleased him greatly; so he built a hunting-

box on it, buying the ground from an archbishop. In 1632 A.D. he built a small palace, the architect being the famous Lemercier. Louis XIV. commenced in 1682 another palace; and although in this year he held receptions in it, it was not quite finished. Mansard and Gabriel were the architects, and the palace remains to this day a monument of their skill. There were a number of well-dressed people congregated at the still shut gate, and we took up our station there also. Very soon the orders came to open, and we all entered. I thought we were in some heavenly, not earthly palace. I was astounded at the lovely lakes, canals, and fountains; animals' heads from which water was spouting; the trees and shrubs exquisitely trimmed in some places, in others natural; pieces of sculpture representing men with their hands on each other's necks, with hands joined, &c.; and wondrous gardens filled with flowers. The famous canal in the Delhi Fort, which flowed from the private audience-chamber to the picture-chamber, and in whose waters I used in former days to play; the Mehtab Bagh pond, from the banks of which 360 fountains played of old; the palace and fountains of Deeg, in Bhartpore,—are undoubtedly as far inferior to those of Versailles, as an ugly is different

from a handsome man. India's royal buildings differ from those of France, owing to the climate. The houses in France are well adapted to its climate. Ours in India require to be amended in order to be beautiful, to be adapted to the climate, and to be healthy. At the same time, our buildings in India are much more strongly built than those here; and there is nothing to match the lovely Taj and its minarets — that monument of grace and honour to our ancient architecture.

"After walking about the gardens we entered the palace, and were struck with the splendour and size of the rooms. I shall dilate presently on the paintings, which struck me dumb with amazement. I rubbed my eyes to see if it was not a dream, and the figures on the canvas not living ones. My heart told me they were only pictures, but on looking at them carefully I could not believe it. We saw the audience-hall of Louis XIV., where he used to receive his grandees and courtiers; also the room in which he put on his robes, the walls of which were covered with pictures; and the bedroom of the same sovereign, in which, in 1715, he breathed his last. The bed on which he died is still exactly as he left it, and is a warning of the instability of this world, and calls out, as it were,

with a loud voice, 'O Louis, where art thou, that thy bed is vacant?' This audience-hall is 340 feet long and broad, and 42 feet high, with seven arches, and was built by Lebrun, who was both architect and painter. In 1738, Louis XV. made it into his bedroom. Close by is a billiard-room, splendidly decorated by this monarch; and there is a life-size picture of his daughter over the door, with one of the king opposite it, taken when he was young. Next to this picture is one taken of him when he ascended the throne. He died in this room in 1774. There is also an opera or concert room, with thirty-eight columns, which was begun in 1753 and finished in 1770, or eighteen years afterwards. There is also a chapel with sixteen columns, which was commenced by Mansard the architect in 1699, and was finished in 1710. Throughout the palace the paintings are simply matchless—the work of the famous Lebrun and other celebrated painters. The king's picture-gallery, containing thirteen rooms, is a splendid work of art. It contains 130 full-length pictures. There are pictures representing the victories of Napoleon the Great, the figures in them being all life-size. In the gallery called the 'Crusade,' there are pictures of all the battles fought in the Crusades. Above it is another gallery, in which are all the Algiers

battle-pictures. In a huge chamber, 373 feet long, 42 feet broad, and the same height, all the various French battles are depicted. I really cannot describe their beauties, and the lifelike fidelity with which the figures of the soldiers and of the wounded, with their bleeding wounds, are vividly drawn. It is not merely a picture-gallery, but a means of increasing the courage, boldness, and valour of the nation. There is no doubt that the sight of them by the French race must double their valour when they see thus before them the evidence of their ancestors' bravery, and of their contempt of death or wounds on the battle-field. There was only one thing which militated against French valour and civilisation; and when I observed it, I was extremely astonished that such a brave and gallant race, elevated, as they are, by the arts and sciences, should have been guilty of it. In the Algiers battle-picture-gallery, there is one depicting the capture of the women of Abdul Kadir's family. The women are shown on camels, with the French soldiers throwing them off. The bodies of the women are partially naked, and the French have bayonets in their hands as if they were going to kill them. Was it right or proper of the French to hang up in their palace a picture of women being taken prisoners? Was the drawing of bayonets on

helpless women, or throwing them down from the camels, worthy of being thus handed down to posterity? Was it according to French civilisation to depict naked women, even although they may have actually been so? Imam Abdul Kadir is a valiant and true soldier, and is as much honoured now as he was when he was ruler of his country. Alone and unaided, he fought for twenty years with the greatest bravery and truthfulness, with no breath of intrigue or cunning upon his name. At last he was conquered; but that does not lessen his valour or his world-known honour. The painting of such a picture, instead of lessening that bravery and honour, increases them. Alongside this picture there is one which illustrates the generosity, the wisdom, the valour, and all the good qualities of the French nation, and particularly of the present Emperor Napoleon III. When he ascended the throne he set Imam Abdul Kadir at liberty; and the picture shows the Emperor life-size, with Abdul Kadir beside him, and Abdul Kadir's mother in the foreground, clothed to go out. The Emperor is shaking hands with her, and giving the order for Abdul Kadir's release. This picture adds honour to Napoleon's crown, and to the honour of the French nation.

"After seeing all the wonders of Versailles, we

returned by rail to Paris, and by omnibus to the hotel. Chajju was in great tribulation at our long absence, and had commenced to cry, and we found him in tears! On asking what was the matter, he said, 'Oh, where have you been?' After dinner, we went out for a walk in the streets with the commissionaire, and the beauties of Marseilles were speedily eclipsed by those of Paris. The beauty of the buildings, the arrangements of the shops, the brilliancy of the lamps, the number of well-dressed, good-looking men and women that we saw, are quite indescribable. The light was so brilliant, that if a needle were dropped it could have been picked up. Any place that I saw was well worth looking at.

"The next day we again sallied out on foot to see the shops in Richelieu, Rivoli, St Honoré, and other streets. After lunch, we went in a carriage and pair, and told the commissionaire that we did not want to get out anywhere, and that he was to take us round to see the sights. I cannot remember the French names of the various places we drove past—every street, every shop, and every building was like a picture. Their cleanliness was such that not even a bit of straw was to be seen. Doubtless people will think that such praise is exaggerated, but I assure my readers it is not. Thousands—sometimes hundreds of thou-

sands—throng the streets, which are also full of buggies, chariots, cabs, omnibuses, carts, &c., and notwithstanding this, not a trace of dirt is to be seen. Horse-refuse or other dirt was swept up immediately. We saw a sweeping-machine at work in the streets drawn by two horses, the brush being two or three yards long, and all the filth being swept into an inner and hidden receptacle in the machine. Besides this, there were numbers of men stationed to sweep the streets. There were numerous handsome gas-lamps on the streets, at short distances from each other, whilst the shop-lights were simply innumerable. There is no difference in Paris as regards light between the day and night. The police arrangements seemed admirable—well-dressed, silent, and good-looking constables being stationed every 200 yards. They looked quietly and civilly about, and seemed to say, 'We are here to look after all these people's comfort and convenience.' People who did not know their way to shops and houses applied to them, and they invariably replied most kindly and politely, and were always thanked by their questioners. I cannot describe the number of the military that I saw in Paris. Every two hours or so a detachment of troops of some branch of the service or other would pass by—well dressed, and neat and clean. I hear that the Emperor

Napoleon is very fond of his army, and that his men reciprocate the feeling. The streets of Paris are extremely broad. The Chandni Chowk at Delhi, which is divided into two streets by the canal running down its middle, is altogether—roads, canal, and all—about as broad as many of the streets here. Their beauties are indescribable. The Boulevards Sebastopol and du Temple are broader than usual, and are bordered by shady trees and seats, and are always crowded with people. The municipal arrangements are so excellent that if municipal commissioners be required in heaven, the Paris commissioners are undoubtedly the best fitted for the posts! Notre Dame Cathedral is well worth a visit. I saw it from the carriage, and it certainly is a splendid and beautiful pile. Its interior is probably still more beautiful. The Elysée Palace, which is the residence of the Emperor Napoleon, I saw from a distance. Its pillars, fountains, and lovely lakes—pictures of which I saw and wondered at in the hall of our scientific society at Allygurh—I now saw before me. The fountains play day and night, and are indescribably exquisite. Looking at them, one feels inclined never to move on. I saw a large marble gateway with the Emperor's victories carved on it. National valour, bravery, and honour are well worth being fostered. What

Frenchman, on seeing them, but would not wish to behave as is depicted on these marbles?

"We drove out of the city proper, but the same splendid houses still continued. The present Emperor Napoleon built a wall, a moat, and forts round the city proper; but owing to the great increase in the population, the people overflowed into the suburbs, and there are as many inhabitants in them as in the city. After driving some miles we came upon a park, which was really a bit of heaven, miles in length, with lovely roads and flowers, and umbrageous trees trimmed so as to be all of one size, handsome iron benches and seats, and several large lakes which looked as natural as possible, although they are artificial. Wherever we looked we saw a wide expanse of green covered with flowers. Thousands of people come here daily, the wealthy in well-appointed equipages, and the carriages are drawn up in a drive specially made for this. The people walk about. There are feeding-places for the horses, which are rubbed down and fed; carriages are cleaned; and when the owner has finished his walk, he finds a clean carriage, and sleek, well-groomed, and well-fed horses, ready for him. From seeing this assembly, and from living in French hotels, I have come to the conclusion that the French are the best-dressed and the best-fed

people in the world. At one part of this park we came upon a natural lake, with the same arrangements for watering horses as just described. Close to it is a very fine building in which pedestrians can sit and call for anything to eat or drink, sit at their ease, eat and drink, pay the waiter, and leave. This house, built at a cost of lakhs of rupees, is the property of a company. When our carriage drew up at it, a splendid liveried servant came forward, bowed, opened the door, and we got down. I thanked the waiter with the only French words I knew, which I had picked up at the Marseilles hotel—viz., "S'il vous plait!" We walked round the water. In the middle of the plain there is an artificial hill in which a cavern has been excavated, and it is impossible to tell whether it is natural or the reverse. In it are cascades and a waterfall, and on the hill are large trees. There are paths up it close to the cavern, and thousands of shady trees, and chairs. I was enchanted with all that I saw, and cannot describe its beauties. We stayed there a long while, and remembered the Almighty God. Wonderful are the things made by Him.

"Not far off was a very fine race-course, which we visited, as also the grand stands, which are of wood. A pump was at work close by driven by a windmill, and attended to by a man and his wife,

who lived in a small cottage near by. Their manners made me blush for those of my countrymen. Wishing to see the stand, I asked by signs his leave to walk up, and he at once—seeing that I was a traveller—most politely accompanied me and showed me everything. I thanked him, and we drove back late in the afternoon to our hotel. I hear that the Parisians call their city, not Paris, but Paradise, and I quite agree with them that it is the Paradise of this world.

> 'If there be a paradise on earth,
> It is this, it is this, it is this.'

"In the evening we again visited the streets. Wishing to buy some gloves, we went into a glove-shop, and on our entering, a very pretty and well-dressed young woman stood up from the chair that she was sitting on behind the counter, and by her countenance asked us what we wanted. She evidently did not know what language we talked. Some one of us said 'gloves' in English, and she began talking English like a nightingale, took the measure of our hands, brought gloves to suit us, and put them on with her own hands, talking all the time in the most polite manner. When we had been suited we asked the prices. She said, 'Do you want one pair each?' showing her hope that we would take several pairs. She then went on to praise Paris fashions, which she

said were the best in the world; that Paris gloves were ditto; that we would require gloves for dinner, to meet ladies, and to be presented to the Emperor and Empress; that she, the shopkeeper, did not want us to have any bother, and that therefore we should take several pairs of gloves of sorts. I thanked her for her kindness, but said that I did not require them—that I was merely looking at the shops, and bought a few things here and there. This woman knew four languages—French, English, Italian, and German, and knew them well, too. She had learnt them in order to be able to talk with the foreigners who might patronise her shop. I paid her, and returned through several streets of shops to our hotel.

"At midnight we again visited the shops, and bought a warm coat for Khudadad Beg at a tailor's shop, which was beautifully got up, and in which cloth of every description was numbered from one upwards. He asked me what cloth I wanted, took Khudadad Beg's measure, and told an assistant to bring a coat and trousers of such and such a number. They were brought, and Khudadad Beg was shown into a beautifully furnished room, changed his clothes, brushed his hair, and came out quite a handsome young man! At this hour the whole of the shops were still open,

and everything was just as it was in the day-time—numbers of people being about, &c., &c.

"At 8 A.M. of the 4th May—a Tuesday—we left Paris and arrived by rail at Calais on the Channel, where a steamer was awaiting us. We went on board. The English Channel, though not very broad—only a two and a half or three hours' trip—has a peculiar motion, which, whenever the steamer begins to move, makes people sick. The captain of the steamer showed us into the first-class cabin, and on entering we saw a strange sight—viz., that places for lying down were ready for each passenger, with pillows and a china dish for the sea-sick alongside.

"Those ladies who had come on board before us were all lying down, and with eyes closed were trying to go to sleep, in order to cross whilst asleep. I wondered what sort of a motion it would be. We all sat down, and Khudadad, in a bragging manner, removed the basin to a distance. The vessel started, and before we had gone a hundred yards we were sick, lay down, closed our eyes, and became slightly unconscious. Soon after, Khudadad got up very alarmed, wanted to be sick, and began to search for his basin. A lady who was lying close by him, thinking that he would be sick over her, got up in a hurry, and most kindly gave him her basin.

He had just got out the word 'Thank,' when he was sick, and the 'you' was never said! He then lay down again. Many of the English of both sexes were also ill, and lay down. Mahmud was sick. Hamid was not actually so, though very near it; and I was the same. Almost senseless, and calling on God, we got to the end of our sea-journey. We got out at Dover, and travelling by rail we reached Charing Cross at 7 P.M. From Paris to Calais the country was not so vine-cultivated as between Marseilles and Paris. High mountains were frequent, so were tunnels, very much longer than those we passed through on the Bombay line. Pumps worked by windmills were numerous, and they are no doubt valuable and cheap, and would be well adapted for Hindustan. My agents, Messrs Henry, King, & Co., had sent Mr Storr to meet us at the station and to take us comfortably to our hotel. Mr Storr met us, and took us into the Charing Cross Hotel. Thus closed our journey to London."

CHAPTER X.

LETTER FROM LONDON.

ON the 15th October 1869, Syed Ahmed addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Scientific Society at Allygurh, which appeared in Urdu in the 'Allygurh Institute Gazette':—

I have received your esteemed letter of the 9th ultimo, and I regret that you should have been put out by the non-arrival of more letters from me, describing my travels; but the reason for my silence was, that I heard that many members of our Society were angry with me for the freedom of my remarks in my former letters. As I could only write what I thought and believed to be true, I could not, through fear of these members, conceal what I thought to be the truth. Whatever failings of our Hindustani people I have been guilty of denouncing, I, being a native of India, am guilty of myself. I thought it as well to desist from writing altogether. If you are of opinion that the publication of my free criticisms will not be injurious to our Society, and if you fear only the Almighty, and not our Society's members, I shall have no objec-

tion to send you full accounts of events and of the wonders of this land, and with words of monition and warning. If you publish this letter, with independent remarks thereon, I shall write you a letter as usual. I will now give you the results of the last six months of my trip. It is nearly six months since I arrived in London; and although, owing to want of means, I have been unable to see many things that I should have liked to see, I have still been able to see a good deal, and have been in the society of lords and dukes at dinners and evening parties. I have also mixed a good deal in that middle-class society to which I myself belong. I have seen many ladies of high family and first-rate education. I have also observed the habits and customs and way of living of high and low, and seen the warehouses of great merchants, the shops of the smaller ones, the method of their storing and selling their wares, and the manner in which they treat their customers. Artisans and the common working-man I have seen in numbers. I have visited famous and spacious mansions, museums, engineering works, shipbuilding establishments, gun-foundries, ocean-telegraph companies which connect continents, vessels of war—in one of which I walked for miles, the Great Eastern steamship—have been present at the meetings of several societies, and have dined at clubs and private houses. The result of all this is, that although I do not absolve the English in India of discourtesy, and of looking upon the natives of that country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they are not far wrong in their opinion of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiter-

ate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. Do you look upon an animal as a thing to be honoured? do you think it necessary to treat an animal courteously, or the reverse? You do not! We have no right to courteous treatment. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes. Although my countrymen will consider this opinion of mine an extremely harsh one, and will wonder what they are deficient in, and in what the English excel, to cause me to write as I do, I maintain that they have no cause for wonder, as they are ignorant of everything here, which is really beyond imagination and conception. What I have seen and see daily, is utterly beyond the imagination of a native of India. If any of my countrymen do not believe what I say, you may certainly put them down as frogs and fishes. Can a man who has been born blind imagine the appearance of the sunlight or the glorious light of the moon? There was once a living fish that fell from a fisherman into a well in which were a number of frogs. When they saw a new traveller, white in colour, and glittering like silver, they behaved very kindly to him, and asked where he came from. The fish said that he was a native of the Ganges. The frogs asked the fish if his watery country was similar to theirs; to which the fish answered in the affirmative, adding that it was a bright, good country, swept by a fine wind, which raised waves in which fishes were rocked as in a swing, and disported themselves, and that it was very broad and long. On hearing this a frog came out a foot from the side of the well, and said, "What! as long and as broad as the distance I have come from the wall?"

The fish said, "Much greater." The frog came another foot out, and again put his question to the fish, which said, "Much greater." The frog went on, getting the same answer the farther he went, until he got to the opposite side of the well. Again asking his question, the fish gave the same reply. The frog said, "You lie; it cannot be larger than this." Just at this moment a man let down a bucket and drew water, thus causing small waves on the surface. The frog asked the fish if his country's waves were as large, on which the fish laughed, saying, "Those things that you have never seen, and which it is impossible for you to imagine, cannot be thought of by you without seeing. Why, therefore, do you ask about them?" I am not thinking about those things in which, owing to the specialities of our respective countries, we and the English differ. I only remark on politeness, knowledge, good faith, cleanliness, skilled workmanship, accomplishments, and thoroughness, which are the results of education and civilisation. All good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England. By spiritual good things I mean that the English carry out all the details of the religion which they believe to be the true one, with a beauty and excellence which no other nation can compare with. This is entirely due to the education of the men and women, and to their being united in aspiring after this beauty and excellence. If Hindustanis can only attain to civilisation, it will probably, owing to its many excellent natural powers, become, if not the superior, at least the equal of England.

If you will agree to the request that I have made in this letter (*i.e.*, of publishing it), I shall give you further details of my journey. Meanwhile, I shall tell you

something of the private life which I am living, which will probably please you, and either astonish my fellow-countrymen or make them laugh at me.

When I arrived in London, we stayed for three or four days at the Charing Cross Hotel, as I had not sufficient money to take a house and furnish it. I therefore was compelled to rent one, or rather a portion of one, in which beds, bedding, &c., are provided by the owner of the house, who is called the "landlord," his wife being called "landlady." They also provide food and servants, and the bills are sent in weekly. We found living like this extremely comfortable. From this you will conclude that those who let out a portion of their houses in London are poor; and so they are, but they are, at the same time, of respectable family. The house that I was in is owned by Mr J. Ludlam, with his wife, the latter having two sisters, Miss Ellen West and Miss Fanny West, who often visit their sister for a couple of weeks or so at a time. Mr Ludlam is as able as he is respectable and well educated, and is a constant attendant at night at lectures on chemistry, geology, zoology, &c. These and hundreds of other lectures are got up by the general public—people attending them paying a few pence each nightly. The incomes from this source are so large that all the expenses—including the salaries of the givers of the lectures, rent of houses, &c.—are defrayed from money taken at the doors. The people profit by them more than by the highest philosophy that has ever been taught in Hindustan. Although I have been here in this house now for six months, and have met Mr Ludlam, occasionally speaking to him, his voice has never once reached my room. Such politeness in thinking of those who live with him, and seeing that they are not disturbed, is politeness

indeed. However, I do not wish to dilate on the many good qualities of my landlord Mr Ludlam, and which may exceed those of any other; I only wish, from this description, to show to my fellow-countrymen a picture of the general knowledge of the people amongst whom I am at present living. Mrs Ludlam is a very able, well-educated, accomplished, and a very good woman, and I cannot do sufficient justice to all her good qualities. Courtesy, politeness, and humanity are included in them. All her house and other work is done by her with the greatest ability, and her husband is thus at leisure to go to his office or to his lectures. Her two sisters are also well educated—one of them, Miss Ellen West, being extremely fond of reading.

I am at present engaged in writing a book on the Mohammedan religion, and have got together many English works for and against the same, as well as others which are against all religions. Some days ago Miss Ellen West became very ill, but the next day became better. Although very weak and scarcely able to leave her bed, she sent a message to me asking me to send her some of the above-mentioned works, to add, as she said, to her knowledge. I replied that I had only religious works, which were also extremely disputatious; but she asked for some nevertheless, and I therefore sent her a book. In two days she had read it, and on her getting well she gave me some excellent opinions on it. This gives rise to the reflection how good the education of women slightly below the middle-class must be here. Is it not a matter for astonishment that a woman, when ill, should read with the object of improving her mind? Have you ever seen such a custom in India in the family of any noble, nawab, raja, or man of high family? If our women in India were to

frequent the bazaars with their faces, how astonished and alarmed would not their husbands be? It is undoubtedly a fact that the women here, when they hear that the women of India are unable to read or write, are ignorant of education or instruction, are equally astonished, and are displeased with and despise them. You may be certain that those Englishmen in India who meet and mix with us, and behave well to us, do so out of policy. If the two nations were together in a free country, and if the customs, ways of living, and private life of Hindustanis and Englishmen remained as they are at present, the Englishmen would never stop to speak to them, and would look on them as equal to animals. I undoubtedly maintain that the general behaviour of Englishmen towards the natives is the reverse of polite, and that this should certainly cease; but I do not urge this point on account of the nation's being entitled to politeness on the score of ability. I urge it for this reason, that Englishmen, by treating them badly, detract from their own high character, and place obstacles in the way of the spread of civilisation.

In the India Office is a book in which the races of all India are depicted both in pictures and in letterpress, giving the manners and customs of each race. Their photographs show that the pictures of the different manners and customs were taken on the spot, and the sight of them shows how savage they are—the equals of animals. The young Englishmen who, after passing the preliminary Civil Service examination, have to pass examinations on special subjects for two years afterwards, come to the India Office preparatory to starting for India, and, desirous of knowing something of the land to which they are going, also look over this work. What can they think, after perusing this book and look-

ing at its pictures, of the power or honour of the natives of India? One day Hamid, Mahmud, and I went to the India Office, and Mahmud commenced looking at the work. A young Englishman, probably a passed civilian, came up, and after a short time asked Mahmud if he was a Hindustani? Mahmud replied in the affirmative, but blushed as he did so, and hastened to explain that he was not one of the aborigines, but that his ancestors were formerly of another country. Reflect, therefore, that until Hindustanis remove this blot they shall never be held in honour by any civilised race.

I am extremely pleased that my Bengal and Parsi brethren have begun to some extent to promote civilisation, but their pace is so fast that there is danger of their falling. The mass of my fellow-countrymen the Hindus, and my unfortunate coreligionists, are still lying at the bottom of the path of ignorance, and apparently will long remain there. The Mohammedans will perhaps remain there so long that their elevation to civilisation shall be impossible, and their present mental malady shall become incurable. The fatal shroud of complacent self-esteem is wrapt around the Mohammedan community: they remember the old tales of their ancestors, and think that there are none like themselves. The fatal shroud which is around them has blinded them to the beautifully flowered garden which now lies before them. I see, however, with great joy that, although my Hindustani coreligionists are in this state, my brethren in other countries have commenced the work of civilisation. The Mohammedans of Egypt and Turkey are daily becoming more civilised, and it is matter for congratulation that the bigotry of the Turks —bigotry which is the cause of foolishness, barbarism, and decay—is daily decreasing; may, in fact, be

said to have disappeared. I have seen the Khedive of Egypt in England—the representative of a race which formerly was no friend to Englishmen—mixing in the most friendly manner in English society. The Sultan of Turkey is also daily becoming more friendly with the neighbouring countries and their peoples. Some time ago the Sultan came to France and London to pay them a friendly visit, and dined at the same table with their inhabitants; and this is a powerful proof that the days of bigotry and barbarism are gone. Another proof is the fact that the Empress of France and the Emperor of Austria are going to Constantinople as the Sultan's guests, and just now great preparations are being made to receive them. The Sultan will himself go out to meet the Empress of France, and the three sovereigns will remain in friendly and brotherly friendship for the space of a week, dining and going to parties together, travelling together, and the Sultan will escort them to the "Bait-ul-Mokaddis."[1] A short time ago the Prince of Wales was the Sultan's guest, and on every one's lips was the verse, "Thy coming hath peopled the country; speaking of thee is our song of gladness." In short, the sight of mankind growing daily in brotherly love and friendship, and the decrease of barbarism and savagery, the growth and decrease of which is natare's intention, is indescribably joyful. In Turkey and Egypt the women are daily becoming better educated. I heard of an Egyptian girl who, in addition to a thorough knowledge of her native language, Arabic, knew French very well and Latin very fairly. Her brother was educated in France; and on his return, his sister, who had learnt Arabic from her relatives, studied French and Latin with him.

[1] Suleiman Mosque.

I am at present living in a comfortable house. I shall hereafter describe the houses of London. I have six rooms, four of them bedrooms—one for each of us—the others being rather larger and better furnished than mine, as Hamid, Mahmud, and Khudadad Beg sit reading and writing in them at night. In my bedroom there is only bedroom furniture—better, however, than any I have ever seen in India. Perhaps there may be better in Bombay and Calcutta. One of the other rooms I use for reading and writing books—we all eating and drinking also in it. The sixth room is a large one, and serves as our sitting-room, in which we all meet occasionally, and get pleasure by doing so. Visitors are received in this room. My kind landlady has taken on two servants especially for my service—one being called Anne Smith, and the other Elizabeth Matthews, the latter very young and modest, being maid-of-all-work. The first is very clever and well-educated, a good writer, and thoroughly good servant. She reads the papers and enjoys them, and does her work like a watch or a machine. After dressing, I go to my study about half-past 8 A.M. daily, that and the sitting-room having by this time been cleaned by Anne Smith—chairs, tables, *almiras*, pictures, inkstand, books, &c., all being beautifully arranged. When it is cold, she lights the fire. She receives all letters and sorts them, putting those for each person on the table opposite his chair. Newspapers she puts anywhere on the table, to be read by whoever wants to. At about 9 o'clock she knocks at the door, and on being told to enter, comes in and lays the table for breakfast. Her language is clear and respectful, her manners being good and polite —she calls us all "sir" when speaking to us. Khudadad Beg she calls Mr Beg, and on hearing that that was

not his full name, said, "Sir, please pardon me, but your full name is very difficult." There was great fun over this, and we have all taken to calling Khudadad Beg Mr Beg. Dinner and supper are also laid out by her with the same careful attention as breakfast. It is a fact that if this woman, who is poor, and compelled to work as a maid-servant in attendance night and day upon me, were to go to India and mix with ladies of the higher classes, she would look upon them as mere animals, and regard them with contempt. This is simply the effect of education. Look at this young girl Elizabeth Matthews, who, in spite of her poverty, invariably buys a halfpenny paper called the 'Echo,' and reads it when at leisure. If she comes across a 'Punch,' in which there are pictures of women's manners and customs, she looks at them, and enjoys the editor's remarks thereon. All the shops have the names of their occupants written in front in splendid golden letters, and servants requiring anything have only to read and enter. Cabmen and coachmen keep a paper or a book under their seats, and after finding a job, they take them out and commence reading. Remember that the rank of a cabmen corresponds to that of the *ekhawallas*[1] of Benares.

Until the education of the masses is pushed on as it is here, it is impossible for a native to become civilised and honoured. The cause of England's civilisation is that all the arts and sciences are in the language of the country. Although in some parts of England the dialects are such as to make it difficult to understand their English, still, on the whole, English in England corresponds to the Urdu of the North-West Provinces and Behar, which every one understands. Those who are

[1] Drivers of native vehicles.

really bent on improving and bettering India must remember that the only way of compassing this is by having the whole of the arts and sciences translated into their own language. I should like to have this written in gigantic letters on the Himalayas, for the remembrance of future generations If they be not translated, India can never be civilised. This is truth, this is the truth, this is the truth! Government has a difficult task. When the governing tongue is not that of the country, the people do not care to study their own language, because up to the present no one studies for the sake of science, but only to get service. O well-wishers of Hindustan, do not place your dependence on any one! Spread abroad, relying on yourselves and your subscriptions, translations of the arts and sciences; and when you have mastered these and attained to civilisation, you will think very little of going into Government service. I hope and trust that such a day may soon come.

I am delighted to hear that the Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Provinces, and the Director of Public Instruction, North-West Provinces, have given our Society great assistance; and I have thanked God for it. But, my dear Raja, do not part with the freedom of your Society and its paper. The life and death of India depend on the goodness or otherwise of the Department of Public Instruction. Always reflect on this deeply, but with a just mind, and make truth and the national welfare "your only friends."

CHAPTER XI.

RETURN TO INDIA — MISUNDERSTANDING WITH SIR WILLIAM MUIR—SOCIAL REFORMS—MOHAMMEDAN OPPOSITION.

TOWARDS the end of 1870 Syed Ahmed returned from England, and resumed his duties of Native Judge at Benares. I was also there as District Superintendent of Police, and was very glad to be for the second time in the same station with him. His trip to England had added largely to his knowledge of men and things, and had also deepened his determination to do all in his power towards improving the feeling between the ruler and the governed, and breaking down the social wall that stood between them. Curiously enough, however, his return to this country was signalised by a coolness on his part, which he afterwards deeply regretted, with one of his best and most influential friends, Sir William Muir, then Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces. Whilst in England, as I have before noted, Syed Ahmed wrote some strictures on the Government edu-

cational policy, and amongst other things wrote that he had once found a cow tied up in a village schoolhouse. Sir W. Muir, on the 7th February 1870, delivered a speech when opening a school at Allygurh, in which he said: "In a pamphlet on Educational Progress in India, written and published in England, he tells a story of having visited a village schoolhouse and found a cow tied up in it; and hence he draws disparaging conclusions regarding the education imparted in the village schools. I can only say that in marching through the district I have had ample means of satisfying myself that the education acquired at these village schools is generally good, and bears marks of labour and industry altogether inconsistent with Syed Ahmed Khan's conclusions." On this reaching Syed Ahmed in England, he found that the Urdu version of Sir William Muir's speech distinctly accused him of a want of veracity, and this he felt deeply. He referred the matter to a friend and myself. His friend wrote: "I find nothing to object to in the English transcript, but the Urdu text certainly does not accord with the tenor of the English original, and is decidedly offensive in the terms employed, which, under the most subdued interpretation, attributes to you a want of veracity. As I know how utterly incapable you are of any such per-

version of truth, and feeling that the Urdu is the version which is to appeal to the understandings of your fellow-countrymen, I should counsel you to write frankly to Sir William Muir, asking him to correct the text in any way he thinks best, as I am confident that he would be the last man to inflict an undeserved wrong, or to hesitate to undo that wrong when pointed out to him." I also advised him to the same effect; but he procrastinated, and eventually went out to India without doing so. He did not also go and see the Lieutenant-Governor *en route* to Benares, nor did he write to him. In November he received the following letter from the Lieutenant-Governor's Private Secretary, Captain Lillingstone, who was afterwards killed by falling over a precipice in the hills :—

5th November 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Lieutenant-Governor desires me to say that he was glad to hear, from Raja Jykishen Dass at Allygurh, of your safe return to India with one of your sons.

His Honour has been looking for an account from you of your other son's progress, he being the Lieutenant-Governor's nominee for the North-West Provinces Scholarship.

Sir William Muir will hope to hear about him and about your own welfare.—Yours truly,

W. S. LILLINGSTON.

To this Syed Ahmed replied :—

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you, as also his Honour, for your kind letter of the 5th instant, received yesterday. I should have written to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor ere this, had it not been that I thought his Honour would not care to hear from me, and this for the following reason. In his Honour's speech of the 7th February 1870, delivered at the Allygurh school, and which I received with feelings of the deepest regret when in England, his Honour, in the Urdu version, accused me of a direct falsehood. Admiring and esteeming his Honour as I do, I was deeply grieved when I read the words that were to brand me as one so low in the eyes of all my fellow-countrymen. I thought it must have been a mistake of the translator's; but whether it was so or not, the fact remained that I was by the Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Provinces, deemed capable of telling an untruth.

To show that this was not only my opinion, I beg to forward herewith a letter received by me on the subject from Mr Edward Thomas, formerly in the Civil Service in this Presidency. I frankly admit that had I taken his advice, the matter might have been cleared up; and I now hope that his Honour will accept of this letter as one which I ought to have written long ago from England.

I have now the pleasure to inform his Honour as to Mahmud's opinions since arriving in England—viz., as to the society in which he moves, what his studies have embraced there, and as to the expenses to which he has been put. As to the first point, I may say that his visit to England has enlarged his mind to a very great degree. His opinions have become more liberal and he

esteems and admires the thoroughly manly characteristics of the English people, his opportunity for observing the same being of course much greater there than here. As to the second point—viz., the society in which he mixed prior to my departure—I can only say that owing to the extreme kindness of Lord Lawrence, the Honourable Russel Gurney, of Mr Pearson, Q.C., Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Robert Montgomery, and other gentlemen with whom I was acquainted, he was enabled to mix in the society not only of law students, but also in that of ladies and gentlemen, and that, too, not once or twice only, but very frequently indeed. The benefit to his moral nature from thus being frequently brought into contact with those whom he could look up to and respect, must have been very great indeed. I have great cause to be thankful to all my esteemed friends in England for having thus taken him by the hand, and not left him to the society of the students only.

As to the studies on which he has been engaged, the most prominent are law—under the barrister, Mr Pearson, Q.C.,—Latin and Greek, and English history and literature, all of which he studied privately for one year prior to his entrance into Christ College, Cambridge. He is now a member of Lincoln's Inn, preparatory to becoming a barrister; and as he runs up from Cambridge to London to attend lectures and eat his dinners, I look forward to his being a barrister-at-law in two years at most. As to the expenditure which will be necessary at Cambridge, I have ascertained that, looking to the advisability of his being able to mix freely with men of all ranks, the lowest sum necessary will be £360 per annum. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Lord Lawrence, and other influential gentlemen, most kindly provided him with good

introductions, which will enable him to mix in the best society at college. Of the £30 *per mensem* above alluded to, Rs. 150 comes from the scholarship and Rs. 150 I give myself.

I trust that when his Honour meets my son, he will find that his kind selection of him for the first North-West scholarship will reflect honour upon his choice.

I am deeply grateful for his Honour's kindness, and with the expression of my sincere thanks to him for all that he has done for me, I beg to remain, my dear sir, yours faithfully, SYED AHMED.

BENARES, *7th November* 1870

Sir William Muir's answer was as follows :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
ALLAHABAD, *9th November* 1870.

MY DEAR SYED AHMED,—Your letter of the 7th instant has surprised and vexed me more than I can well say. It is hardly necessary for me to say that I should never have dreamt of imputing to you anything approaching to a misstatement of facts. I differed, and still differ, as to the inferences drawn by you therefrom; but that implies no disparagement whatever of yourself.

I extremely regret that you did not at once write to me direct; and I am pained that you did not, for it implies less trust and confidence in me than I had expected (and perhaps had a right to expect) in you towards myself.

Mr Bramly brought the circumstance to my notice of the meaning that the Urdu terms were thought capable of bearing, and I wrote a note to signify that no such meaning could for a moment have been contemplated

by me; and I gave permission for any use to be made of my writing. No further notice having been taken of the matter, I fancied that the explanation was sufficient, and that it was not thought necessary to publish it in the 'Gazette.'

Captain Lillingston will write to you further on the subject after the above correspondence has been referred to.

Meanwhile I will only say I am very glad to hear so good an account of your son, and that I shall be glad to see you when you are again in these parts,—or if not, then when my camp reaches Benares.—I am, yours very truly, W. MUIR.

Syed Ahmed then wrote:—

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM MUIR,—I cannot tell you what a load your most kind and most gratifying letter of the 9th instant has taken off my mind. I thank you most heartily for having condescended to reply to my letter so soon, and I shall take the first opportunity of waiting on you at Allahabad in order personally to express my thanks and my feelings of esteem for you. I see now how wrong I was in not writing to you long ere this, and I have to ask your pardon for not having done so. I hope you will excuse my writing to you as to a friend, and not as to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. My apology, I feel, is due to you as the former.—With the expression of my deep feelings of esteem and gratitude, I beg to remain, yours most sincerely and respectfully, SYED AHMED.

Syed Ahmed, although he had permission to publish Sir W. Muir's letter—and most native

gentlemen would have done so at once—put it quietly away, and it was only after a long search that I lately unearthed it. Soon after his return from England, Syed Ahmed started a paper called the 'Mohammedan Social Reformer,' and wrote a series of articles combating the religious prejudices of his fellow-countrymen against the acquisition of modern science and art. "He saw the weakness that had crept over Mohammedans through their estrangement from the thoughts and aspirations of the nineteenth century, and he proposed to himself the great task of making Mohammedans change, not their dogmas, but their policy, so that independence of mind and political liberation should no longer be accounted as symptoms of heterodoxy." These articles, which were continued for nine years, have effected a wonderfully wholesome change in Mohammedan ideas throughout India, have brought them more in accord with their rulers; and his services in this direction are politically more valuable than his personal services during the Mutiny. The opposition which he met with was brought out very clearly and forcibly in an able article written in 1878 by Mr John Macdonald in 'Pillars of the Empire.' The priests at Mecca denounced him as a renegade, as a "lieutenant of the Evil One," and hoped that "God would destroy him," and "that

he would be severely chastised." One of them wrote that "he should be brought to his senses by beating, imprisonment, and the like!" Many Mohammedans actually believed that Syed Ahmed was the Antichrist, and debates were held as to whether he were the real one or one of the lesser ones!

At the great horse and cattle fair held at Batesir, in the Agra district, last November, I met a very intelligent Mohammedan, who had resigned a lucrative post to become a Mohammedan missionary. In the course of a conversation with him, I happened to mention Syed Ahmed's name, and he at once burst out with, "That man is an atheist; he has done more harm than any one else to our religion, and I look upon his tenets with abhorrence!" On my telling him that I was Syed Ahmed's most intimate friend, and that I thought he was very much mistaken about his being an atheist, he seemed rather astonished, and after some further conversation took his leave, evidently quite convinced that his theory was right! When the Mohammedan A. O. College was being started, a Mohammedan wrote to Mecca asking the priests as to their opinion on Syed Ahmed's proposed college. He said—"What is your opinion (may your Excellence continue) regarding the legality of an institution established

by a man who does not believe in the existence of an Evil One; who denies the bodily night-journey of the Prophet to heaven; who does not believe the story of Adam; who exhorts Mohammedans to follow English example; who maintains that all the religious learning in Mohammedan libraries is of no avail; and that it is necessary to have a college to teach modern philosophy? When the Mohammedans, feeling indignant, told him that his institution was a school to teach atheism and spread irreligion, and denied him any assistance, he wrote to them, saying, 'I will not renounce my beliefs, nor will I cease inviting you to my assistance, but I promise to place the management of the institution in the hands of a committee.' Now the committee so promised consists chiefly of men of his own persuasion, who often change their opinions, and their successors rescind the arrangements of their predecessors. Now, under the divine promise of reward in the next world, let me know whether it is religiously lawful for Mohammedans to aid this college or not." One priest wrote—"In this case no assistance is allowable to the institution. May God destroy it and its founder. No Mohammedan is allowed to give assistance to or countenance the establishment of such an institution. It is, moreover, the duty of the faithful

to destroy it if it be established, and to chastise to the utmost those who are friendly to it."

After these *fatwas* were fulminated against Syed Ahmed by the learned doctors of Mecca, he received numerous anonymous letters, in which the writers said they had sworn on the Koran to take his life. One of them said that "Shere Ali, who assassinated Lord Mayo, was an idiot for doing so, as he could have ensured Paradise for himself by killing Syed Ahmed!" Was my friend moved by all these Mecca ecclesiastical thunders or the threats of unknown writers? Not in the least. He did not even get a policeman to look after him; he did not even give intimation of the possible fate in store for him to the head of the police in the station. He worked quietly on, quite prepared to suffer even a painful death in the execution of his set purpose.

CHAPTER XII.

REPLY TO DR W. W. HUNTER'S 'INDIAN MUSSULMANS'—
WAHABIISM—THE FRONTIER FANATICS.

In 1872, Syed Ahmed had once more to wield the pen in defence of Mohammedans, as they had been attacked and held up to public opinion by the Hon. W. W. Hunter as disloyal to our rule. Dr Hunter's work was entitled, 'Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?' The following extracts from the Syed's 'Review' of this work are interesting:—

The attention of the public has been lately turned to the state of Mohammedan feeling in India, owing to three causes—viz., the Wahabi trials, Dr Hunter's book on the 'Indian Mussulmans,' and the murder of the late lamented Chief-Justice Norman. Dr Hunter's work has made a great sensation in India, and has been read with avidity by all classes of the community. I commenced its perusal hoping that a light would be shed upon what, to the general public, has been hitherto an obscure subject; and as I had heard that the author was a warm

friend of Mohammedans, my interest in the work was great. No man, and especially no Mohammedan, can have perused this, the accomplished author's last celebrated work, without being impressed with his extreme literary skill, his Macaulay-like talent of vivifying everything that his pen treats of. Literary skill is not, however, everything, and an author writing for the Indian as well as for the English public, should be careful not to so colour the subject which he treats of as to make it mischievous and of small value as an historical work. I am aware that many of the ruling race in India are under the impression that English literature, both books and newspapers, seldom, if ever, permeates the strata of native society. As regards general literature, this impression is correct as far as the millions are concerned; but on particular subjects, such as the state of feeling of the English to the natives, religious questions, or matters affecting taxation, it is a mistaken one.

Natives anxiously con all articles bearing upon the feelings with which their rulers regard them. Articles sneering at them, or misrepresenting their thoughts and feelings, sink deep into their soul, and work much harm. Although all cannot read, they manage to hear the contents of this and that article or work from those who can, and the subject usually receives a good deal of embellishment as it is passed from one to the other. Articles or books on religious and fiscal questions are also eagerly commented on by a large proportion of the population.

What books and newspapers enunciate is, by the general native public, believed to be the opinion of the whole English community, official or non-official—from the veriest clerk to the Governor-General in Council—ay, even to the Queen herself! Such being the case, writers should be careful of their facts when treating of

any important subject, and having got their facts, ought to avoid all exaggeration or misrepresentation. Now, when we find an official, high in office and in favour with Government, giving utterance to assertions and assumptions such as those contained in Dr Hunter's work, it is but natural that we Mohammedans should come to the conclusion that the author's opinions are shared in more or less by the whole English community. I have before mentioned that I had expected great things from Dr Hunter's book. Alas that I should add one more to the long list of disappointed men! Friend to the Mohammedans as Dr Hunter no doubt is, his friendship, as represented by this his last work, has worked us great harm. "God save me from my friends!" was the exclamation which rose to my lips as I perused the author's pages. I perfectly admit the kindly feeling towards Mohammedans which pervades the whole book, and for this I heartily thank the talented author. At the same time, I regret deeply that his good intentions should have been so grievously frustrated by the manner in which he has written, and that he has used his "power of the pen" in a way calculated still more to embitter the minds of Englishmen against the already little-loved Moslems.

Dr Hunter expressly states that it is only the Bengal Mohammedans to whom he applies the subject-matter of the book, and that it is only them whom he knows intimately. The book, however, abounds in passages which lead the reader to believe that it is not merely the Bengal Mohammedans that the author treats of, but the Mohammedans throughout India. The title of the work itself proves this—'Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?' Again, at page 11 there occurs the following passage: "Dis-

cussions which disclose the Mohammedan masses eagerly drinking in the poisoned teachings of the apostles of insurrection, and a small minority anxiously seeking to get rid of the duty to rebel by ingenious interpretations of their sacred law." Again, on the same page—"The Mussulmans of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India." With a knowledge, therefore, only of Bengal Mohammedans, the author gives us the general feeling of Mohammedans throughout India. As a cosmopolitan Mohammedan of India, I must raise my voice in opposition to Dr Hunter in defence of my fellow-countrymen. I know full well the arduousness of the task which I have undertaken — the difficulty which encompasses every advocate of a cause which has been pre- and misjudged by men of a different race. I only ask for an impartial hearing in the words of the Bishop of Manchester, spoken at Nottingham last month: "All things are possible to him that believeth, and where there is true faith there is certain to be no obliquity of conduct." Being firm in my belief in what I am about to write, I hope that it may be possible for me to convince the public that all is not gold that glitters, and that all is not exactly as Dr Hunter would have it believed.

As Dr Hunter's work represents Wahabiism and rebellion against the British Government as synonymous, I will first proceed to review the light in which the former is presented to the Indian public by the learned Doctor, and I will then pass on to the consideration of the latter question. Wahabiism has withal been little understood by the world at large, and it is rather difficult to put it in a comprehensive light before the public. In my opinion, what the Protestant is to Roman Catholic, so is the Wahabi to the other Mohammedan

creeds. A work on Wahabiism was translated into English, and published in the 13th volume of the 'Royal Asiatic Journal' in 1852. In it the doctrines of the faith are pretty accurately defined, and Dr Hunter has reduced them to the following seven doctrines: "First, absolute reliance upon one God; second, absolute renunciation of any mediatory agent between man and his Maker, including the rejection of the prayers of the saints, and even of the semi-divine mediation of Mohammed himself; third, the right of private interpretation of the Mohammedan Scriptures, and the rejection of all priestly glosses of the Holy Writ; fourth, absolute rejection of all the forms, ceremonies, and outward observances with which the medieval and modern Mohammedans have overlaid the pure faith; fifth, constant looking for the Prophet (Imam), who will lead the true believers to victory over the infidels; sixth, constant recognition, both in theory and practice, of the obligation to wage war upon all infidels; seventh, implicit obedience to the spiritual guide."

Now there are several errors here. The latter part of the second doctrine is so ambiguously worded that the meaning does not stand out very clear: it ought to stand thus—"And to recognise Mohammed as nothing more than an inspired man, and to disbelieve in any power of mediation by saints or prophets, including Mohammed himself, before the holy tribunal." The third doctrine is also ambiguous, and I would amend it thus—"Right of every individual to interpret the Koran according to his lights, and not to be bound to follow implicitly the interpretation put upon the same by any former priest.". The fifth doctrine is quite obscure, and its true meaning is much altered. It bears a great affinity to the belief of the Jews and Christians

—in the advent of the Messiah of the former, and of the second coming of Christ of the latter. Mohammedans believe that before the end of the world, and before the second advent of Christ, an Imam will descend on the earth to lead true believers to victory over the infidels. Many Mohammedans disbelieve in this, and regard it as a story invented by the Jews, and which has crept into their religion. However this may be, it will be observed that Dr Hunter has perverted its meaning, and has represented the present generation of Wahabis as expecting the Imam to lead them to victory against the English. The sixth doctrine has also suffered at the author's hands. Had he added the words—"provided that the Mussulmans leading the *jihad* be not the subjects of those infidels, living under them in peace, and without any oppression being exercised towards them—provided that they have not left their property and families under the protection of such infidels—provided that there exists no treaty between them and the infidels—and provided that the Mussulmans be powerful enough to be certain of success,"—had, I say, all these provisions been added by our author, his rendering of this doctrine would have been correct. His object, however, being to present the Wahabi doctrines in their most terrifying form, he wisely omitted all these provisions. I do not understand what the author means by the words "spiritual guide" in the seventh doctrine. If by it he implies a guide of faith, he is in error, as by the third doctrine Wahabis are not bound to follow any priest blindly. If, however, he means a Mohammedan ruler, he is right. One thing, however, he has omitted to tell us—viz., that Mohammedans are bound to obey an infidel ruler as long as he does not interfere with their religion. I would particularly urge on my readers

to bear these doctrines in mind as now interpreted by me—Dr Hunter's rendering of them being ambiguous and calculated to mislead.

Syed Ahmed then goes on to show that Wahabiism is a system which reduces the religion of Mohammed to a pure theism—*i.e.*, to what Mohammedanism was in the days of Mohammed, before it was encrusted with its present forms and ceremonies by medieval and modern Mohammedans. In the second century of the Hegira it was divided into four Churches—Hanafi, Sháfai, Malki, and Humbali; and it was for some time after optional for Mohammedans to follow any doctrine of any of these four Churches. The kings Bani Umanja and Bani Abboo, however, issued an edict that all Mohammedans were to embrace the whole doctrines of any one Church of the above four; and by this unjust order, free opinion was summarily suppressed, and religious intolerance gained supremacy. A few, however, clung to the former, the true faith, and they were called Ahal-i-Hadis—*i.e.*, believers in the sayings of the Prophet. They were hated and held up to the execration of the faithful, and this continued till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Abdul Wahab of Nejd then ascended a throne of his own making, and spread the doctrine of the Shah-i-Hadis. His successor being denied leave

to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, marched on and conquered both Mecca and Medina, abolished all the forms and ceremonies with which pure Mohammedanism had become encumbered, and destroyed the tombs of saints which were worshipped as idols. He was defeated by the Turks, and compelled to retire; and the Mohammedan world being deeply grieved at the — in their opinion — sacrileges perpetrated by the Ahal-i-Hadis, a bitter enmity sprang up between the Turks and them, and they were then called Wahabis. In India, Wahabis could only worship and preach with great danger to themselves; but on the advent of the English rule they came to the front and preached openly and fearlessly. The Indian Mohammedans, however, hated them as cordially as the Turks did, and also called them Wahabis.

Such [says Syed Ahmed] is the history of Wahabiism, the bugbear of Dr Hunter. . . .

I shall now endeavour to explain [Syed Ahmed goes on to say] the faith and persuasion of the frontier tribes amongst whom Dr Hunter establishes the rebel camp.

The mountain tribes on our north-west frontier are Sunis. They belong to the Hanafi sect, and are stricter in the observance of their religion than their coreligionists of the plains. The latter bear no enmity towards the other three Mohammedan sects; whilst the hostility of the mountain tribes to all other sects is bitter in the

extreme. An outsider has no security for his life or property whilst in their country, unless he change his tenets, and adapt them to those of the Hanafis amongst whom his lot is cast. . . . These wild denizens of the hills generally take, as their text-books, commentaries on the Hanafi Church, of which Dur-i-Mukhtár is one. This was written in the year 1071 Hegira, or A.D. 1660, and is the religious work most venerated by them. It contains some Arabic verses upholding the Hanafi doctrines in preference to all others. A translation of one of these, showing the hatred borne by the Hanafis to the followers of the other Churches, is as follows: "May the curses of our God, innumerable as the sands of the sea, fall upon him who followeth not the doctrines of Abu-Hanifá." These hill tribes lay great stress upon the worship of tombs of saints and monasteries, especially those of Peer Bábá in Bonair, and Káká Sáhib in Kotáh. I have never yet met any Pathan of any other faith than the Hanafi, or any inclined to Wahabiism. In the Hayát Afgáni, however —an Urdu history published at Lahore in 1867, and written by a loyal Mohammedan in the service of Government—I find the following passage: "But of late the followers of Mulla Syed Meer of Kotáh are looked upon as Wahabis, and are held in contempt by the people of Swat, subjects of the Akhoond of Swat and stanch Hanafis. Most of the Atmanzais and the descendants of Nasir-ul-lab of Garhi Ismáil are the partisans of Mullá Syed Meer, whilst all the other mountain tribes follow the Akhoond of Swat." From the foregoing it is evident how utterly antagonistic Wahabiism is to the faith of the frontier tribes, and, as far as religion is concerned, how impracticable it is to form a coalition between the Pathans and the Wahabis. The

latter, who in 1824 settled themselves in the hills, determined to wage war to the death against the hated Sikhs, could never persuade the hill tribes to look with favour on their religious tenets. Hating each other as they did, however, they, smarting under the oppressions and severities of the Sikhs, made common cause against them. It was these very Pathans, however, who betrayed the Wahabis to the Sikhs, and it was owing to them that Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail Saheb were afterwards slain. These facts must be borne in mind, as they are absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the Wahabi history, represented by Dr Hunter as a great coalition of the mountain tribes.

In the first chapter of his work Dr Hunter has given us an account of the establishment of the Wahabi rebel camp. I demur, however, to many of his statements, and will now proceed to give a short account of the Indian Wahabis, without which it is impossible to show in what points our author has been misled, and how greatly he has exaggerated the facts of the case.

The history of the Indian Wahabis is divided into five periods. The first extends from 1823 to 1830—*i.e.*, from the year Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail preached and inaugurated the holy war against the Sikhs, the oppressors of their Mohammedan subjects, to the time when Peshawur was recaptured from the hands of their followers. The second extends from 1830 to 1831—*i.e.*, from the reconquest of Peshawur to the death of Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail. The third embraces the period from the death of these leaders to the time when, after the annexation of the Panjab by the British, the Wahabis, and amongst them Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali, were sent from the frontier to their homes in Hindustan—viz., from 1831 to 1847. The fourth extends

from 1847 to the second expedition of Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali to the frontier, and to their death. The fifth is the present period, which Dr Hunter erroneously calls the period of Wahabi insurrection. The first period of the Wahabi history was its golden age. Everything that the Wahabis of that age did was known to Government, and they were not at that time in any way suspected of disloyalty to the British. Mohammedans at that time openly preached a holy war against the Sikhs, in order to relieve their fellow-countrymen from the tyranny of that race. The leader of the *jihadis* was Syed Ahmed, but he was no preacher. Moulavi Ismail was the man whose preaching worked marvels on the feelings of Mohammedans. Throughout the whole of his career, not a word was uttered by this preacher calculated to incite the feelings of his coreligionists against the English. Once at Calcutta, whilst preaching the *jihad* against the Sikhs, he was interrogated as to his reasons for not proclaiming a religious war against the British, who were also infidels. In reply he said, that under the English rule Mohammedans were not persecuted, and as they were the subjects of that Government, they were bound by their religion not to join in a *jihad* against it. At this time thousands of armed men and large stores of munitions of war were collected in India for the *jihad* against the Sikhs. Commissioners and magistrates were aware of this, and they reported the facts to Government. They were directed not to interfere, as the Government was of opinion that their object was not inimical to the British. In 1824 these *jihadis* against the Sikhs reached the frontier, and they were afterwards continually strengthened by recruits and money from India. This was well known to Government, and in proof of this I will cite the following

case: A Hindu banker of Delhi, intrusted with money for the Wahabi cause on the frontier, embezzled the same, and a suit was brought against him before Mr William Fraser, late Commissioner of Delhi. The suit was decided in favour of the plaintiff, Moulavi Ishak, and the money paid in by the defendant was forwarded to the frontier by other means. The case was afterwards appealed to the Sudder Court at Allahabad, but the decision of the Lower Court was upheld. At this time the Wahabi cause prospered. With the aid of the frontier tribes, Peshawur was conquered, and was made over to Sultan Mohammad Khan, brother of the late Dost Mohammad Khan of Cabul. It was, however, soon after treacherously sold by him to Ranjeet Sinha.

During the second period the Wahabi cause waned. When Peshawur again fell into the hands of the Sikhs, numbers of the learned men amongst the followers of Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail lost heart completely. They saw that the Pathan tribes on the frontier hated them on account of their faith—that no help was therefore to be expected from them; and they saw that their own number was too small to cope successfully with the Sikhs. They therefore declared that they were no longer bound by their religion to continue the contest. A difference of opinion had also arisen amongst them as to the fitness of Syed Ahmed to be their leader, most of them declaring that he was unfit, whilst others maintained the contrary. Moulavi Ismail exerted himself to the utmost to allay these dissensions. He wrote a work entitled 'Mansab-i-Imámat,' which was published in Calcutta in the year 1265 Hegira (A.D. 1849). All his efforts were, however, unavailing, and the band was broken up. Thousands returned to their homes in India, of whom the most noted were Moulavi Mahbub

Ali, who died in 1864, and Moulavi Haji Mahomad. The latter was a resident of Lower Bengal, but he married at Delhi, and resided there for many years. He died at Alwar in 1870. It may interest my readers to learn that the above-named Mahbub Ali was the same man who in 1857 was summoned by the rebel leader, Bukht Khan, and requested by him to sign the proclamation for a religious war against the English. He refused, and told Bukht Khan that the Mohammedan subjects of the British Government could not, according to the precepts of their religion, rise up in arms against their rulers. He, moreover, reproached him and his followers for the inhuman cruelties perpetrated by them towards the European ladies and children.

After this secession, Syed Ahmed's following was much reduced; and in 1831 he, with most of his adherents, was, through the treachery of Khadi Khan, slain in action against Shere Sinha. On their leader's death, the desertions from the cause were numerous. In order to prevent these, it was falsely given out that Syed Ahmed was alive, and had miraculously disappeared and hidden himself in a cave. This deception was, however, soon exposed, and the followers of Syed Ahmed returned to their homes. After this period the supplies of men and money, &c., in aid of the *jihad*, ceased entirely from the North-West Provinces. What occurred during the third period is not very interesting. I would here mention that Syed Ahmed, after the recapture of Peshawur by the Sikhs, asked those of his followers who were resolved to die with him for the cause, to make a solemn promise (*bayat-fil jihad*) to this effect. Several hundreds complied; and it is almost certain that only the few of

those who survived the battle fought against Shere Sinha, remained in the hills after the fall of their leader, Syed Ahmed. The majority of them were from Patna, and other parts of Bengal. Moulavis Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali of Patna, now became their leaders, but did nothing towards the furtherance of *jihad.* On the annexation of the Panjab by the British, they and most of their followers were despatched to their homes in 1847. Now we have seen how recruits and money were forwarded from Patna and other parts of Bengal, and India generally, during the three first periods of frontier Wahabi history; but I think it is very evident that not a man of these was intended or used for an attack on British India, nor was there the slightest grounds for supposing, during these three periods, that there was a rebellious spirit growing up amongst the general Mohammedan public in India. And yet Dr Hunter maintains (page 79) that "about thirty years ago one of the Caliphs came on a missionary tour to Bengal, settled there, became trusted by all the neighbouring landed proprietors, and preached *rebellion* with great force and unction." He also, says our author, "forwarded yearly supplies of men and money to the propaganda at Patna, for transmission to the frontier camp." Now this brings us back to the year 1841 or so, when several years had still to elapse before the Panjab was annexed by the British. Does Dr Hunter really believe that men and money were forwarded at that time to enable the frontier people to attack the English? I think he will admit that a holy war against the Sikhs had been going on for many years before the year 1841, and that it is but probable that the "men and money supplies" were intended for the defeat of the subjects of the Panjab

rulers. I will now proceed to show that in the fourth period also there is no foundation for any suspicion whatever against my coreligionists in India. The English, who are unacquainted with the general run of Mohammedan opinion, will probably deem me an interested partisan, and will pay small attention to, or place little reliance upon, what I think and write. This, however, must not deter me from speaking what I know to be the truth. After the return to India of Moulavis Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali in 1847, there still remained a small remnant of Syed Ahmed's followers on the frontier. It is true that these two never slackened their efforts to induce men of Patna and the vicinity to join in the *jihad*, and to collect money for the purpose. They were indefatigable, and in 1851 they showed what was still their leading idea by again leaving India for the frontier. Now Dr Hunter has made out that it was with the intention of waging war with the British that they again resorted to the frontier, and that they thus transferred the *jihad* from the Sikhs to the British. Was this likely when they had no cause of complaint against the latter? We have already seen, in the oppression of Mohammedans by the Sikhs, what reason the former had for attacking the latter; but no reason has yet been shown, either by Dr Hunter or by any one else, for this sudden hatred to the British. No; it was against the Sikhs in Jammoo that their arms were directed. I have this from one who met these two Moulavis on their way to the frontier, and I have no doubt of its truth. It must be borne in mind how very strict in their religion these Wahabis are. Stern fanatics, they never swerve aside from the principles of that faith. Now those of whom I am writing had left their families and property in the care

of the British Government, and their faith expressly forbids them taking up arms against the protectors of their families. Had they fought and died in battle against the English, they would have been deprived of the joys of Paradise and martyrdom, and would have been deemed sinners against their own religion. We have seen how small were the remnants of the Wahabi band on the frontier, and it has been shown how hated they were by the hill tribes on account of their religious tenets. One feels inclined to smile when we read sentences like this in Dr Hunter's book: "The second minute of Lord Dalhousie had to deal with a proposition for a frontier war against the border tribes, whose superstitious hatred to the infidel the Hindustani fanatics had again fanned to a red heat" (page 23). Our author forgets the very important fact that these mountain tribes have been turbulent from time immemorial; that they have never allowed any peace to any nation living on their frontiers, whether so-called infidels or Mussulmans; that they fought indiscriminately with the Mohammedan emperors of Delhi and with the Sikhs in the Panjab. Like the Irishman at a fair, it mattered little to them who it was, as long as it was some one to fight with. Even the great tyrant Nadir Shah, whose name was feared throughout India, was never able to keep them in subjection. With regard to Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali, and their small following, nothing has ever transpired to show that they ever conspired against the British power in India. On their death, which happened a few years after 1851, their followers all dispersed.

It is quite true that men and money were transmitted, during the stay of these Moulavis on the frontier, from Patna and other parts of Bengal; but no one believed

that they were to be used against the British. It is not likely that a force so feeble could aspire to overturn the strong British empire.

The fifth period of Indian Wahabiism has also, in my humble opinion, no connection whatever with *jihad.* I cannot believe that after the death of Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali, men or money were forwarded to the frontier from Bengal in furtherance of a religious war. Since 1857, however, a band of desperate men, composed of mutineers and others—who, through the severe punishments meted out during the Mutiny, fled for their lives to those remote tracts—have taken up their abode at Mulka, Sittana, in the Nepal Terai, and in the deserts of Bikaneer and Rajputana. Those who fled to the North-West frontier were Hindus of all castes, as well as Mohammedans of different denominations; and they instinctively collected together, fleeing, as they were, from a common danger. It was they, as mentioned above, who occupied Mulka and other places; and to assert, as Dr Hunter does, that they were there for the purpose of making a religious war against Government—composed, as their band was, of Hindus and Mussulmans of all castes and denominations—is too absurd for belief. It is not unlikely, however, that many of these refugees were in communication with their homes in different parts of India, and it is very probable that they were assisted with sums of money by their relatives. A man, because he becomes an outlaw, does not necessarily forfeit the love of his relatives, nor do they feel it the less incumbent upon them to assist him by any means in their power. This has probably formed one of the bases upon which Dr Hunter has constructed his edifice of a "regularly organised system of contributions of men and money in aid of a religious

war against Government." Another was probably the fact of money having found its way from India to the Akhoond of Swat. Now my readers are probably all aware that every Mohammedan is bound, according to the precepts of his faith, to set apart at the end of each year, for the purpose of charity, one-fortieth part of his capital. This is termed *zakat.* Many, of course, do not act up to their religion, and decline to put their hands into their pockets to benefit others; but all good Wahabis, and also all Mohammedans who have Wahabi proclivities, discharge this duty faithfully. The money thus set apart is paid by them to the poor of the neighbourhood, to travellers passing through their towns and villages, to Moulvis famed for their learning, to convents where pious men live in retirement, and to pupils residing in mosques, for their education. In distributing these alms, they can scarcely be required to find out all the recipient's antecedents; and so frightened have Mohammedans now become of being accused of aiding and abetting sedition, that in many cases men have abstained altogether from assisting travellers or any one else. Apparently no Mohammedan can now dispense his *zakat* without laying himself open to the charge of aiding a *jihad* against the English. As regards the Akhoond of Swat, I have no doubt that he may have received portions of *zakat* from wealthy Mohammedans. He is, however, no Wahabi, and I can confidently assert that any sums which he may have received had no connection whatever with a *jihad* against the Indian Government. The school kept by Shah Abdul Azeez and the convent of Gulam Ali at Delhi received pecuniary aid from all parts of the world besides India; and one might just as well assert that they were aided for the purpose of waging *jihad,* as maintain that the

Akhoond of Swat was subsidised for this purpose from India. Having thus given a *résumé* of the history of Indian Wahabiism, I would request my readers to bear the same in mind whilst accompanying me through the pages of Dr Hunter's work. I think I have proved that the Indian Wahabi *jihad*—represented by our author to have been one against the British—was intended solely for the conquest of the Sikhs; and that, even although the band of mutineers at Mulka and Sittana may have given trouble to Government after 1857, the frontier colony, composed as it was of Hindus as well as Mohammedans, was scarcely one which could be designated as a *jihadi* community. On opening Dr Hunter's book, in the very first page occurs the following sentence: "For years a rebel colony has threatened our frontier, from time to time sending forth fanatic swarms, who have attacked our camps, burned our villages, murdered our subjects, and involved our troops in three costly wars." This is very pretty writing, enriched as the sentence is by the phrases "rebel colony" and "fanatic swarms;" but the unprejudiced reader will at once ask, "To whom does the author refer?" If he refers to the Wahabis who settled there to wage *jihad* against the Sikhs, I have shown how unfounded such an assertion would be; and if he means the band of mutineers—Hindus and Mohammedans—who fled from Hindustan during the Mutiny, what earthly connection have their raids with Dr Hunter's question, "Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?"

Our author states (page 1): "Successive State trials prove that a network of conspiracy has spread itself over our provinces, and that the bleak mountains which rise beyond the Panjab are united by an unbroken

chain of treason-depots with the tropical swamps through which the Ganges merges into the sea. They disclose an organisation which systematically levies money and men in the Delta, and forwards them by regular stages along our highroads to the rebel camp two thousand miles off. Men of keen intelligence and ample fortune have embarked in the plot, and a skilful system of remittances has reduced one of the most perilous enterprises of treason to a safe operation of banking." This, taken in conjunction with his opening sentence, leads the reader to believe that this conspiracy was hatched by the Bengal Mohammedans with the more or less open concurrence of the whole Mohammedan community, with the object of subverting the English rule in India. Now I think Dr Hunter will allow that an organisation can exist for other purposes than that of rebellion; and I think both Dr Hunter and myself have shown that an organisation existed in India for the purpose of attacking the Sikhs. It is most unfair of him to insinuate that the organisation in question was one inimical to our Indian Government, and thus to prejudice the minds of his readers against the whole of the Indian Mussulmans. Again, at page 10, he writes: "While the more fanatical of the Mussulmans have thus engaged in overt sedition, the whole Mohammedan community has been openly deliberating on their obligation to rebel. . . . For some months the Anglo-Indian press was inclined to smile at the pains which the more loyal sort of the Mussulmans were taking to ascertain whether they could abstain from rebellion without perdition to their souls." Now I have no hesitation in saying that this is one of the most unjust, illiberal, and insulting sentences ever penned against my coreligionists. It is very evident that Dr Hunter could have had but a most superficial

to a sentence which no Englishman desirous of bridging over the gulf which separates our rulers from us ought ever to have penned. He says: "Every Mohammedan religionist, too zealous to live quietly under a Christian Government, girded up his loins and made for the Sittana camp." What an aspersion is this upon the whole Mohammedan community which remained quietly in India! He does not seem to know what the Mohammedan, and still more the Wahabi, precepts enjoin on this subject; or, knowing the same, he wilfully perverts their meaning. Wahabis act strictly up to the commands of the Prophet; and it is a well-known fact that, during the Mohammedan persecution at Mecca, Mohammed himself ordered his stanchest followers to take refuge in the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. To say, therefore, that zealous Mohammedans could not remain quietly in British territory, and that they felt themselves bound to repair to the frontier, is as untrue as it is uncalled for. Does Dr Hunter mean to maintain that none of us Mohammedans who remained in India are good and zealous Mussulmans?

At page 23 Dr Hunter corroborates my assertion that the arms of the frontier *jihadis* were not directed against the British. He says: "In the same year (1852) they attacked our ally, the chief of the Amb State, and necessitated the despatch of a British force." He then goes on to say: "I do not propose to trace in detail the insults, inroads, and murders which led to the frontier war of 1858. During the whole period the fanatics kept the border tribes in a state of chronic hostility to the British power." I should like to know what authority Dr Hunter has for maintaining that the "chronic hostility" to the British was the work of "the fanatics." Strange that he should saddle this on them,

considering that for centuries the border tribes had been fighting with the dwellers in the adjacent plains. I should say that they had quite sufficient inherent fighting proclivities to render any such instigation unnecessary. Our author then states: "During this time (1852-1857) the Sittana colony, although stirring up a perpetual spirit of fanaticism along the frontier, had wisely avoided direct collision with our troops." This carries out my assertion that the holy war against the Sikhs was not transferred to the British. Had it been so, I think my readers will allow that ten years would not have elapsed without a blow being struck against the British by the earnest men who, inflamed with holy zeal, so often fought hand to hand with the Sikhs. Dr Hunter, however, quietly ignores this patent fact in order to make his tale sensational—to lend might to his title, "Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?" We now come to the years 1857-58, 1861, and 1863. In 1857, Dr Hunter states, the "Sittana colony" tried to form a general coalition against us, and had the audacity to insist upon the British authorities aiding them in collecting their "blackmail." In a footnote he particularly notices the Yusafzai and Panjtar tribes as having been included in this coalition. I have no doubt but that the latter two tribes may in 1857 have been very strongly tempted to attack British India, inasmuch as the Mutiny was going on, and the opportunity for a profitable raid was very tempting. Doubtless many other tribes had also a hankering after the flesh-pots of British India, and required no prompting from the Sittana colony. It strikes one as rather strange that in 1858, only one year afterwards, the Sittana colony should be on such bad terms with the whole of the

knowledge of the state of Mohammedan feeling, and it shows how weak was the foundation upon which he built his so-called facts.

The causes which led to the Mohammedan deliberation and discussion were not those which Dr Hunter asserts them to have been. The followers of Islam in India required no fresh teaching of the doctrines and obligations enjoined on them by their religion. They were well aware of them; but the statements of ignorant men, and the injury which the propagation of such statements wrought on the prospects of the Indian Mussulmans, by biassing the minds of the English public against them, compelled them to come forward publicly to rectify their mistakes. At first they were rather amused at the interpretations put upon their faith by some newspaper editors; but when they found that matters were taking a serious turn—that their tenets were being perverted, and that accusations of disloyalty, and statements of the obligation of Mohammedans to be disloyal, were becoming more and more frequent—they deemed it necessary to issue the *fatwas* alluded to. These are of no modern date. They have been in existence for hundreds of years, and have always been relied upon by Mussulmans. At page 12 our author commences an account of the rebel camp on the frontier, and also gives an account of Syed Ahmed's career. Like those opposed to Wahabiism, who jocularly called Syed Ahmed "the prophet," and said that he appointed four spiritual vicegerents (caliphs), Dr Hunter also styles him by this name, and states that he appointed four caliphs (page 13). He also states, but has no authority for the statement, that "he appointed regular agents to go forth and collect a tax from the profits of trade in all the large towns which had lain on his route." At

page 14 we find him writing the following sentence: "Their avarice was enlisted by splendid promises of plunder; their religion by the assurance that he was divinely commissioned to extirpate the whole infidel world, from the Sikhs even unto *the Chinese*." Comparing this, however, with the Syed's exhortation to all Mussulmans to join in a holy war against the Sikhs, we find no mention made of the Chinese. Perhaps Dr Hunter will favour us with his authority for this assertion about the Chinese. At page 15 our author writes that "troops from every discontented prince of Northern India flocked to his camp." It would have been better had Dr Hunter been a little more explicit in his meaning, as, from the foregoing, no one can tell who the princes were, nor why and with whom they were discontented. Having drawn on his imagination largely in his description of what took place in the Himalayas, our author treats us to a still greater flight of fancy in the following sentence: "Two of the caliphs or vicegerents whom he appointed at Patna in 1821 made a pilgrimage to the frontier, and ascertained that their leader's disappearance was a miracle, but that he was still alive, and would manifest himself in due time at the head of a holy army, with which he would expel the English infidels from India." This assertion is utterly wrong, and Dr Hunter probably only thought it necessary to insert it as corroborative of his interpretation of the seventh doctrine of the Wahabi faith. He must have heard it from some one inimical to, and only too ready to bring a false charge against, Wahabiism. It is unfortunate for Dr Hunter that he has, throughout his work, relied upon very weak authorities when treating of Mohammedan creeds. The learned Doctor has shown little discretion in not sifting more carefully the chaff from the wheat. We come now

here again has Dr Hunter been misled by some person or persons inimical to Wahabiism.

In treating of the Wahabi literature, Dr Hunter states, that "throughout the whole literature of the sect, this obligation (*jihad*) shines forth as the first duty of regenerate man." And again, on page 66: "But any attempt at even the briefest epitome of the Wahabi treatises, in prose and verse, on the duty to wage war against the English, would fill a volume." He also gives the prophecies on the downfall of the British banner, with a list of fourteen books, and quotes several passages from the same. These shall be referred to presently, and Dr Hunter's glaring blunders exposed.

Syed Ahmed then goes on to prove, book by book, Dr Hunter's many errors. The best knock-down blow which the unlucky Doctor received was with reference to the 'Asar-i-Mahsar,' a work written by Moulvi Mahomed Ali. Syed Ahmed says:—

With reference to this work our author says: "It foretells a war in the *Khyber hills on the Punjab frontier*, where the English will first vanquish the faithful, whereupon the Mohammedans will make search for their true Imam. Then there will be a battle lasting four days, ending in the complete overthrow of the English, 'even the very smell of Government being driven out of their heads and brains.' Thereafter the Imam Mahdi will appear, and the Mohammedans, being now the rulers of India, will flock to meet him at Mecca. These events will be heralded in by an eclipse both of the sun and moon in the month of Ramzán." Now I

frankly confess that I am at a loss what to think of Dr Hunter. I can scarcely believe that he intended to deceive or mislead his readers; but at the same time, I can hardly credit him with such gross ignorance as is here evinced. Either one or the other supposition is the correct one, so that Dr Hunter stands convicted either of intentionally misleading the public, or of "ignorance profound." I will now give a summary of the work, merely begging my readers to bear in mind the fact that the "Khyber hills on our Panjab frontier" of Dr Hunter are hills of the same name situated near Medina! . . .

We now come to the third part of the fourfold organisation—viz., local Wahabi missionaries—treated of by Dr Hunter (pages 71-75). I leave my readers to judge from the following two sentences what dependence is to be placed on Dr Hunter's opinion: "And I should be very sorry if I were supposed to use the term Wahabi as a *synonym for traitor*" (page 72). "It is one of the misfortunes attendant on the British rule in India, that this reformation should be inseparably linked with hatred against the infidel conquerors. But everywhere any attempt by the Mohammedans to return to the first principles of their faith *involves a revolt* against the ruling power" (page 75). Our author cannot be consistent for even five pages. More than this, however, he brings a charge against the religion of Islam, which, from all that I have proved, is totally unfounded. His mind is so full of his fancied Wahabi conspiracy and *jihad*, that he turns and twists everything connected with Mohammedanism in support of his cherished theories. Whilst, however, maintaining that Wahabiism is quite opposed to the doctrine laid down in Dr Hunter's last-quoted sentence, I grant that there are some bigoted and

frontier tribes as to be attacked by them, and to have their "fanatic leader" (Syed Umar Shah, *vide* footnote p. 25) slain. This shows, I think, that their influence amongst the mountain tribes could scarcely have been very great. As regards Dr Hunter's statement that they were in the habit of levying tithes from the adjoining highland class (page 24), my opinion is, that after the death of Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali, the few that remained of the old band were far too weak and divided amongst themselves to attempt anything of the kind. During and after 1857, as has already been shown, the Sittana colony became the rendezvous of the sepoys and others, Hindus and Mohammedans, who were expelled from India during the Mutiny. Now we have seen, according to our author himself (page 24), that from 1850 to 1857 not a single collision occurred between Dr Hunter's "fanatics" and the British troops. After 1857, however, the collisions are frequent. What is the inference to be drawn from this? I think there can be but one—viz., that it was the Company's mutinous sepoys who were the instigators and actors in much that has occurred since that year. The Wahabis —*i.e.*, the remnants of Syed Ahmed's band—had no hand in the raids; nor is there the slightest foundation for Dr Hunter's sweeping assertion, that the flames then kindled were nursed by the Mohammedan community in India. The border tribes had also a great deal to do with the many raids and cases of kidnapping, burning and plundering of British villages; but to lay all these atrocities at the door of Syed Ahmed's followers, and through them to implicate the whole of the Indian Mussulmans, is monstrous in the extreme.

The remainder of Dr Hunter's first chapter describes at length the Ambeyla campaign and the raid of 1868.

As regards the opposition made by the hill clans in the former, I have only to remark—and this is borne out by British officers themselves on the spot—that they were not influenced by any love for the Mulka host, but were justly incensed at the invasion of their territories without their permission. Had they had notice of our intention of advancing by the Ambeyla Pass, they would almost all have been on the side of the British. No intimation, however, of our plans was given them, and the suspicion engendered in their minds by such conduct made them range themselves on the side of the Sittana colonists. Had the British been in the place of the border tribes, would they not have done likewise? . . .

Dr Hunter gives *in extenso* the history of Syed Ahmed and Abdool Wahâb, and at page 61 says: "Whatever was dreamy in his nature, now gave place to a fiery ecstasy, in which he beheld himself planting the Crescent throughout every district of India, and the Cross buried beneath the carcasses of the English infidels." Syed Ahmed, or properly speaking, Moulavi Ismail, certainly devoted all his energies to the reform of his faith in India—encrusted, as it had become, with formulas foreign to the original true faith. In this sense, therefore, Dr Hunter is correct in his assertion as to his desire to have the Crescent planted in every district throughout India. The latter part of the sentence, however, is given by Dr Hunter without quoting his authority, and is more than I can believe to be true. The summons issued by Syed Ahmed to the Mohammedans, in favour of a *jihad* against the Sikhs, completely refutes it. No Wahabi could have enunciated any such opinion, contrary, as it would have been, to the tenets of their faith; and I cannot but believe that

past few years, and describes the motives of the Mohammedans in issuing them, in his usual imaginative manner. As I have already given the true motives which actuated the Mohammedan community in this important matter, I will say no more about it here. Dr Hunter then proceeds to a consideration of the Shia sect; and although he afterwards qualifies (page 119) the panegyric which he passes upon them, I am glad to see that the learned Doctor approves of a portion at least of one of the sects of the Indian Mohammedan community. Let us be thankful for small mercies. He then goes on to prove, with great acumen and ability, that India has now lapsed into *Dar-ul-Harb*, refuting at the same time with equal skill the decision arrived at by the Calcutta Mohammedan Literary Society—viz., that Hindustan is still a *Dar-ul-Islam*. If the Calcutta Mohammedan Literary Society mean that India is *Dar-ul-Islam* in the primary signification of the word, I concur with Dr Hunter in the arguments he has given to disprove the decision of that learned Society; but if the Society call India *Dar-ul-Islam* in the secondary meaning of the word, I am at one with them in their decision. It is a great mistake to suppose that a country can only be either a *Dar-ul-Islam* or a *Dar-ul-Harb* in the primary signification of the words, and that there is no intermediate position. A true *Dar-ul-Islam* is a country which under no circumstances can be termed a *Dar-ul-Harb*, and *vice versâ*. There are, however, certain countries which, with reference to certain circumstances, can be termed *Dar-ul-Islam*, and with reference to others *Dar-ul-Harb*. Such a country is India at the present moment. My first article on *jihad* was published in a pamphlet, entitled 'An Account of the Loyal Mohammedans of India, No. II.,' printed at Meerut in 1860; the second

and third articles on the same subject appearing in the 'Pioneer' of the 4th and 14th April 1871, and the fourth in the 'Allygurh Institute Gazette' of 12th May 1871. A most able article on Dr Hunter's work, which appeared in the 'Pioneer' of the 23d November 1871, has well-nigh exhausted the subject of *jihad;* but as there are one or two serious errors committed by Dr Hunter which have still to be refuted, I will now refer to them as briefly as possible. At page 128 he says: "The Wahabis start with the declaration that India has become a country of the enemy, and from this they deduce the obligation of holy war against its rulers;" and again, at page 140, he repeats the same assertion in the following words: "The Wahabis, whose zeal is greater than their knowledge, deduce from the fact of India being technically a country of the enemy, the obligation to wage war upon its rulers." This is a perfectly groundless charge against the sect who, from the very fact of India having become *Dar-ul-Harb*, deemed *jihad* against Government unlawful. They therefore never waged war against it, not even during the great Mutiny of 1857. If Dr Hunter still maintains that he is right in the foregoing assertions, I would ask him to give us any authority showing that the Wahabis have ever declared *jihad* against the British in India to be lawful. The Mohammedan doctors of Mecca are the next to whom our author applies the rod. At page 123 he writes: "Still more significantly, the two most important decisions, that of the Mecca doctors and of Moulavi Abdul Hai, confine themselves to affirming that India is a country of Islam, and *most carefully avoid drawing the inference that rebellion is therefore unlawful;*" and again, at page 130, he says: "I therefore view with extreme suspicion the decision of the doctors at Mecca—that

superstitious Wahabis, who look with hatred and contempt not only on infidels, but also on all Mohammedans who do not profess the same faith as themselves. Mohammedans of other Churches, even the *Ahal-i-Sunnat* and *Jamát*, to which Church these Wahabis themselves belong, and also those who are not in their eyes orthodox Wahabis, are all equally reckoned without the pale. To visit such, to sit in their company, to join in their feasts, to sympathise with them in their joys and sorrows—nay, even to read prayers along with them—are alike distasteful to these bigots. They are, in fact, the *ne plus ultra* of Dissenters. Their opinions are not, however, infallible; their acts and thoughts are their own; they represent no principle of Wahabiism. Dr Hunter is not apparently aware of the existence of many earnest Wahabis, as also men who, though no Wahabis, have Wahabi tendencies, who are desirous that as the Wahabi faith is pure as regards God, so it may be as regards men; that mutual love may reign throughout the earth; and that as their faith inculcates the unity of God, it may also be the means of promoting brotherhood amongst the human race. That there are such men, and that their example will be powerful for good, is undoubted. Having admitted, then, that there are certain Wahabis whose faults are great, and whose ways are opposed to the ordinances of God and his Prophet, I cannot admit that Dr Hunter's assertion, that the reformation of the Mussulman faith is inseparably linked with hatred against the infidel conquerors, is in the slightest degree correct. I am perfectly certain in my own mind that the purification of our faith, and our loyalty to the Government under whom we live and serve, are perfectly compatible. At page 78, Dr Hunter treats us to a description of the fourth part of the Wa

habi organisation, and mentions the existence of traitor settlements or district centres for the levying of men and money for treasonable purposes, and for the appropriation of all offerings to caliphs in furtherance of a holy war. The following sentence occurs at page 82: "He commanded every head of a family to put aside a handful of rice for each member of his household at every meal." I cannot help thinking that Dr Hunter is describing an ideal race, whose standard of civilisation and whose patriotism have never yet been equalled in this world. Strength and firmness of mind, forethought, unity of purpose, reticence and secrecy, extraordinary skill in governing the minds of the masses, without which an organisation such as Dr Hunter ascribes to the Indian Wahabis could never have existed a week, have long been forgotten by the people of India. Even in the histories of Greece and Rome, whose patriots were numerous as the sands of the sea, we fail to find such rare patriotism and unity of purpose as are here described. The real facts of the matter are, that an organisation, clumsy and perfectly known to Government, existed long ago (*vide* Dr Hunter's page 79), not for rebellion, as Dr Hunter makes out, but for the *jihad* against the Sikhs; and out of this Dr Hunter has built up the edifice which fortunately, owing to the good sense and fairness of the English race, has now fallen to the ground. . . .

In the commencement of the third chapter we find little more than a triumph of our author's literary skill, and sentence after sentence of masterly composition. The subject-matter is scarcely worthy the trouble bestowed upon it by Dr Hunter. Further on, he treats of the *fatwas* relating to *jihad* against the Queen which have been published in India during the

regarded as sinners against their faith, as they would then break that holy covenant which binds subjects to their rulers, and which it is the duty of the former to keep sacred to the last. I cannot, however, predict what the actual conduct of the Mussulmans would be in the event of an invasion of India by a Mohammedan or any other Power. He would be a bold man, indeed, who would answer for more than his intimate friends and relations, perhaps not even for them. The civil wars in England saw fathers fighting against sons, and brothers against brothers; and no one can tell what the conduct of a whole community would be in any great political convulsion. I have no doubt but that the Mussulmans would do what their political status—favourable or the contrary—would prompt them to do. I think Dr Hunter's crucial question might be put to the Hindu as well as to the Mohammedan community. It would be but fair to both parties. . . .

Dr Hunter then describes at length the causes which have impoverished the Mohammedan community, and accuses Government of neglecting to educate that portion of its Indian subjects. I cannot hold Government wholly responsible for this. He says (page 174) that Mohammedans do not avail themselves of the Government system of education, because "the truth is, that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Mussulmans." There is a good deal of truth in this sentence; and I only join issue with Dr Hunter on the last clause—viz., that the system is regarded as "hateful to the religion of the Mussulmans." Dr Hunter con-

nects this with disaffection and disloyalty to Government; but as this is only his own opinion, I meet it with mine, and maintain that he is mistaken. As regards the present system of education, so eagerly embraced by the Hindus, but so repugnant to the ideas of Mohammedans, it must be borne in mind how wide is the difference between the two races. There are numerous classes of Hindus who are never in the habit of discussing the doctrines of their faith. They therefore had no objection to be educated in that which was even opposed to it. Mohammedans are, however, bound to know all the tenets of their faith, to discuss them, and to regulate their lives accordingly. It is on this account that they have hitherto refrained from availing themselves of an education taught through the medium of a foreign tongue, and which they therefore deem opposed to their belief. All history proves that the introduction of new theories, opposed to any established belief, was invariably regarded with suspicion and contempt. Socrates was condemned by his idolatrous fellow-countrymen to die for his belief in one God. The Copernican system was once hateful to many Christians, and those who embraced its doctrines were sometimes visited with capital punishment. Luther's was not a bed of roses. When Mohammedans adopted the Greek system of philosophy, many were the anathemas of the faithful. The theory of geologists, of the earth being older than it is stated to be in the Bible, raised a storm of indignation amongst orthodox Christians. The present age is one of progress, but Rome was not built in a day. It is not to be expected that Mohammedans, who are made of much sterner material than Hindus, will adapt themselves so readily to the various phases of this changing age. Let us have time—

stronghold of fanaticism and intolerant zeal—when they declare that India is a country of Islam; but who, instead of deducing therefrom, as the Calcutta Mohammedan Literary Society infer, that rebellion is therefore unlawful, leave it to their Indian coreligionists to draw the opposite conclusion—namely, that rebellion is therefore incumbent." I cannot see how this accusation can hold; as, if we refer to the question asked them, as given in Dr Hunter's appendix, we find that they were never consulted as to the lawfulness or otherwise of *jihad* in India. Why should they give a reply to what they were never asked? The inference drawn by Dr Hunter is very unfair. . . .

Towards the end of the third chapter, Dr Hunter says that he has no hope of enthusiastic loyalty and friendship from the Mohammedans of India; the utmost he can expect from them is a cold acquiescence in British rule. If our author is so hopeless on account of our faith being that of Islam, let me commend to his attention the 85th verse, chapter v., of the Holy Koran (George Sale's translation): "Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jews and the idolaters: and thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for true believers who say we are Christians. This cometh to pass because there are priests and monks among them, and because they are not elated with pride." Like begets like; and if cold acquiescence is all that Mohammedans receive at the hands of the ruling race, Dr Hunter must not be surprised at the cold acquiescence of the Mohammedan community. Let us both —Christians and Mohammedans—remember and act up to the words of Jesus Christ: "Therefore all things

whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt. vii. 12). . . .

It is evident that as long as Mussulmans can preach the unity of God in perfect peace, no Mussulman can, according to his religion, wage war against the rulers of that country, of whatever creed they be. Next to the Holy Koran, the most authoritative and favourite works of the Wahabis are 'Bokhári' and 'Muslim,' and both of them say: "When our Prophet, Mohammed, marched against any infidel people to wage holy war upon them, he stopped the commencement of hostilities till morning, in order to find out whether the *azan* (call for prayer) was being called in the adjacent country. If so, he never fought with its inhabitants." His motive for this was, that from hearing the *azan*, he (the Prophet) could at once ascertain whether the Moslems of the place could discharge their religious duties and ceremonies openly and without molestation. Now we Mohammedans of India live in this country with every sort of religious liberty; we discharge the duties of our faith with perfect freedom; we read our *azans* as loud as we wish; we can preach our faith on the public roads and thoroughfares as freely as Christian missionaries preach theirs; we fearlessly write and publish our answers to the charges laid against Islam by the Christian clergy, and even publish works against the Christian faith; and last, though not least, we make converts of Christians to Islam without fear or prohibition.

My reply to Dr Hunter's question is, therefore, that in no case would it be the *religious* duty of any Mohammedan to renounce the *aman* of the English, and render help to the invader. Should they do so, they would be

let us live, work, and wait. There are many reformers now at work, a fact which Dr Hunter does not, however, appear to be aware of. The system which Dr Hunter recommends for the education of Mohammedans does not commend itself to me, nor do I think it to be practicable. The object which he aims at will never be obtained by Government interference, but will certainly come to pass by our own exertions. At page 210, Dr Hunter writes : "We should thus at length have the Mohammedan youth educated upon our own plan. Without interfering in any way with their religion, and in the very process of enabling them to learn their religious duties, we should render that religion perhaps less sincere, but certainly less fanatical. The rising generation of Mohammedans would tread the steps which have conducted the Hindus, not long ago the most bigoted nation upon earth, into their present state of easy tolerance. Such a tolerance implies a less earnest belief than their fathers had ; but it has freed them, as it would liberate the Mussulmans, from the cruelties which they inflicted, the crimes which they perpetrated, and the miseries which they endured, in the name of a mistaken religion. I do not permit myself here to touch upon the means by which, through a state of indifference, the Hindus and Mussulmans alike may yet reach a higher level of belief. But I firmly believe that day will come ; and that our system of education, which has hitherto produced only negative virtues, is the first, although distant, stage towards it. Hitherto the English in India have been but poor iconoclasts after all." I cannot compliment our author upon a straightforward system of education. If Government do not deal openly and fairly with its Mohammedan subjects, if it deals with them in the underhand way

recommended by Dr Hunter, I foresee much trouble both in our days and hereafter. Let it openly declare, in Macaulay's words, that "the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors ; that it gives an artificial encouragement to absurd history, to absurd metaphysics, forces a breed of scholars who find their scholarships an encumbrance and a blemish." These words still apply to the present system of education, though written as long ago as in 1853. Had Lord Macaulay's able minute been fully acted up to, we should have had a very different story to tell of education in this country. This is not, however, the place for a dissertation on the education of the people of India. I shall, at some future time, publish my views in their entirety on this important subject. The evils that now exist, however, owe their origin greatly to the want of union and sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, and ideas like Dr Hunter's only tend to widen the gap. I admit that owing to the difference in the mode of life, there is but a limited number of native gentlemen with whom European gentlemen can have cordial intercourse; but this number will, I trust, increase largely every year. Let sympathy and confidence be instilled into the minds of the native community, and this desirable consummation is not far off. Let Government also try to remove the impression now prevalent amongst Mohammedans, that it is inimical to them and desires their degradation. In conclusion, although cordially thanking Dr Hunter for the good feeling which he at times evinces towards my fellow-countrymen, I cannot but regret the style in which he has written. I cannot divest myself of the idea that when he commenced his work he was more imbued with the desire to further the

interests of Mohammedans in India than is afterwards apparent in his pages. This Wahabi conspiracy has, I think, influenced his mind as he wrote, and he has allowed himself to be carried away by it. His work was politically a grave, and in a minor degree an historical, mistake. It is, however, hard, as I have already said, for one of the minority to attempt to remove the impression which literary skill like Dr Hunter's has undoubtedly made on the minds of the Indian public. This impression was, as regards the native community, heightened by Dr Hunter's work having received the approbation of the highest functionary in India. I could not, however, in justice to myself and my coreligionists, have kept silence when such erroneous statements were thrown broadcast over the land. I have striven as much as in me lay to refute the errors published by Dr Hunter, and although my efforts may have been in vain, I feel that I have done my duty.

With reference to this pamphlet of Syed Ahmed's, Sir Alfred Lyall, in his 'Islam in India' (Asiatic Studies), after reviewing the historical condition and consequences of our position in India, says: "It would, I believe, be much nearer the truth to say that the inconsiderate and uneducated mass of them are against us, than that the 'best men are not on our side,' as Dr Hunter too insidiously affirms. That author appears to lay too much stress upon the significance of the spread of Wahabiism in Lower Bengal, among a comparatively depressed and unwarlike Moham-

medan population. Syed Ahmed, in his letters to the 'Indian Pioneer' (1871), denies that even the Wahabis consider that their situation under the English in India justifies a holy war; and he mentions that in 1857, when the mutineers held Delhi, Bakht Khan, the rebel commander, endeavoured to compel the Moulvis of that city to declare lawful a *jihad* against the British, but was boldly withstood and opposed by two leading Wahabis."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE—PRIZE ESSAYS —RETURN OF SYED MAHMUD—OPENING OF THE ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE AT ALLYGURH—SYED AHMED'S RETIREMENT—SIR WILLIAM MUIR'S VISIT TO ALLYGURH—LAYING FOUNDATION-STONE OF COLLEGE—DINNER AT THE ALLYGURH INSTITUTE.

EVER since his return from England, Syed Ahmed had been canvassing all parts of the country for funds for the establishment of his college, which was to be independent of Government, and which would provide religious instruction for scholars, not only Mohammedans but of all denominations. He had formed some of the more enlightened of the Mohammedan community into "A Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India;" and the endeavours of this Committee were directed, as Syed Ahmed said in a small pamphlet which he published, to the investigation of the causes which prevented the

Mohammedan community from availing themselves adequately of Government educational institutions, and to provide means by which they might be reconciled to the study of Western arts and sciences. The Committee offered three prizes for the best essays on the subject, and no less than thirty-two essays were sent in. 'The Pioneer,' in an article written some years later (1877), gave the following opinion on them :—

Thirty-two essays were sent in, and the honorary secretary of the Committee, in a long report now before us, has given an abstract of the arguments advanced by the essayists. The reasons why Mussulmans object to the education imparted by the State are classified in the secretary's report under the following heads :—

1. *Absence of religious education.*
2. *Effect of English education in producing disbelief in faith.*
3. *Corruption of morals, politeness, and courtesy.*
4. *Prejudices*, which are thus enumerated :—

That to read English is unlawful, and forbidden by the laws of Islam. That in Government colleges and schools Mohammedans are not allowed time to attend to their religious duties and to go to their Friday prayers. That there are no Mohammedan masters in Government colleges and schools. That the Hindu and Christian masters pay no attention to Mohammedan pupils, and that they treat them with severity. That the masters in Government colleges and schools are not generally well behaved, that their manners are generally depraved, and that they do not perfectly explain the

lessons to their pupils. That the Mohammedans regard the sciences contained in works in foreign languages as of little value in comparison with those in their own, and the professors of these sciences are men of little learning and ability. That the Government system of education is opposed to their national habits and customs.

5. *The faults of the Government system of education, which are represented as exhibited chiefly in the following circumstances:—*

That the entire management of education is in the hands of one director, who does not consult the feelings of the Mussulmans. That superfluous subjects are taught, which distract the attention of the students from important subjects. That a sufficient number of teachers is not provided, and instruction is given to the boys without any reference to their natural inclinations and capacities. That sciences are taught through the medium of English, which enhances the difficulty of the subject to beginners. That the method of examination does not secure a thorough knowledge on the subject, and encourages cramming. That oriental languages are not properly taught, and books containing matter hostile to Islam have been introduced in the Government colleges and schools.

6. *Habits and manners of the Mussulman population.* These are thus stated:—

(*a*) That the richer classes educate their children at home, and think it below their position to send them away from home to Government educational institutions, where children of all classes are allowed to associate with each other.

(*b*) That they, moreover, having ample means of livelihood, owing to a foolish fondness for their

children, consider education unnecessary for them.

(*c*) That the higher classes of Mussulmans are dissipated, and that even the middle classes are naturally indolent, indifferent to education, and improvident.

(*d*) That the Mussulmans not being generally on terms of friendly intercourse with Englishmen, there is no influence that can make English education popular amongst them.

(*e*) That the Mussulmans having a hereditary liking for the military profession, have no great desire to acquire learning.

The "Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among Mohammedans" decided, at a meeting held at Benares, that they were not bound to "consider and determine upon such means only which might suit the present age, and which might now be practicable;" but that they had also to consider "the means which, quite irrespective of the existing circumstances, might be of real use to Mohammedans in the future." They had "to look forward to and inaugurate an educational system for future generations, although such a system could not possibly be brought into working order all at once; they could consider the fabric as a whole, and commence such portions of it as are at present feasible." It was then agreed that "the times and spirit of the age, the sciences, and the results of those sciences, have all been altered. The old Mohammedan books and the tone of their writers do not teach the followers of Islam independence of thought, perspicuity, and simplicity; nor do they enable them to arrive at the truth of matters in general: on the contrary, they deceive and teach men to veil their meaning,

to embellish their speech with fine words, to describe things wrongly and in irrelevant terms, to flatter with false praise, to live in a state of bondage, to puff themselves up with pride, haughtiness, vanity, and self-conceit to their fellow-creatures, to have no sympathy with them, to speak with exaggeration, to leave the history of the past uncertain, and to relate facts like tales and stories."

With sentiments so antagonistic to the old system of Mohammedan education, it was not to be expected that the bulk of the Mohammedan population would have much sympathy. The endeavours of the Committee, therefore, met with great opposition at first, and it is only owing to the firmness and patience with which the Committee entered upon their labours that we hear of a Mohammedan college actually in existence at this moment. The principles upon which the institution is based, resemble those on which public schools in England are organised. One main feature of the college which distinguishes it from other educational institutions in India is, that most of the students are obliged to live within its precincts, thus removed from the injurious influences which in an Indian home prejudice the growth of a young mind. To Europeans, a rule of this kind would not appear to be very rigorous; but those who are acquainted with the inner life of the natives of this country will easily understand the difficulties which the promoters of the college have to encounter in inducing parents to send their children to a place of education where such a rule is compulsory. "The Committee for the diffusion and advancement of learning amongst Mohammedans" subsequently assumed the name of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee, and directed its efforts towards rais-

ing funds for a college to be conducted upon principles of English education, and at the same time to impart instruction in oriental languages and Mohammedan religion. The main object of the institution is to impart liberal instruction to the children of the better classes of the Mussulman community,—to make them regard English education, not as a mere technical training for Government service, but as necessary to a gentleman whether of Western or oriental birth. The college course will last about five years, excluding the school course, which extends over four years, during which boys go through the education preparatory for the higher course. The chief subjects to be taught in the college are:—

I. *Languages:* English and Arabic (including elementary Mohammedan theology).

II. *Moral Sciences:* (1) Logic, Rhetoric, Mental and Moral Philosophy; (2) Political Economy, Political Philosophy, and Science of History.

III. *Natural Philosophy:* (1) Mathematics, (2) Natural Sciences.

IV. *Mohammedan Law, Jurisprudence, and Theology.*

The last meeting of the Committee was held on the 15th April 1872, and it was then resolved that "The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee" should be formed, which Committee gave existence to the present College at Allygurh.

In October 1873, Syed Mahmud returned from Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn a barrister-at-law, and his father gave a dinner to cele-

brate the occasion. It was remarkable as being the first dinner in these provinces at which Mohammedan and English gentlemen sat down together. There were upwards of forty at table, Syed Ahmed at the top and I at the bottom. An amusing episode occurred. Alongside one of the Mohammedan gentlemen, who happened to have a great sense of humour, and who had already dined privately with Europeans, was a certain Nawab whose maiden dinner it was with us. After the soup, when the first course came round, he whispered to his more experienced neighbour, "What is this dish?" "*Soor* (pig)," was the prompt reply. *That* dish was of necessity hastily passed on untouched by the Nawab. The same thing occurred when the next dish was presented to him, and he would have starved had not the wag taken pity on him and let out the joke. I wish Mr Wilfrid Blunt could have been present that night, one of the many that I have spent with my native gentleman friends. He could not have asserted in the 'Fortnightly' lately that the native gentleman takes his dinner sadly with us. In April 1874 I was transferred from Benares, and Syed Ahmed and other native gentlemen gave me a dinner and evening party, at which many Mohammedan and European gentlemen dined together, and numbers of Hindu

gentlemen were present. The dinner was given in the fairy-like gardens of my good friend Raja Shambu Narainha Sinha. Speeches were interdicted from headquarters, greatly to the annoyance of Syed Ahmed. Some days after this all my native friends saw my wife and self off at the railway station, and the last we saw and heard was old Syed Ahmed waving his fez cap above his venerable head, leading three cheers for us. I next met him at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in December 1876.

The ceremony of the opening of the College took place on the 24th May 1875, but actual work commenced on the 1st June, when some of the school classes were formed. On the 12th November of this year Sir William Muir visited the College and delivered the following address:—

My Friends, Members of the Committee, Nawabs, and Supporters of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College,—I am very glad to be here on this interesting occasion, and to be able to congratulate the Committee on finding that the institution has reached so practical and prosperous a stage; and I specially wish my friend Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadoor joy at the desire he has so long cherished as the chief wish of his heart receiving the first fruit of its fulfilment.

I had two objects in making this visit to Allygurh: First, you have done me the honour of appointing me a

visitor of this college, and in pursuance of that office it was incumbent on me to inspect the institution, observe its progress, and offer any advice which the circumstances might demand. Next, when I contributed to the funds of this project, it was on the condition that the amount should be appropriated strictly to the furtherance of secular studies, and of European science and literature; and I thought that it would be satisfactory, as well to the Committee as to myself, to inquire upon the spot how far the arrangements for the separate pursuit of these secular studies were in actual operation before completing my donation. I need not say, after the report which has just been read, that the promised arrangements have been faithfully and fully carried out.

I take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the relations in which we English stand to this Mohammedan college, and the conditions under which it appears to me that it can be legitimately aided by us who profess the Christian faith. The great majority of mankind agree in this, that the education of the young should be upon the religious basis; few dispute it as an abstract principle. The youthful mind is like a newly planted twig: bend the branch, and in after-years it will remain always crooked; train it straight and upright, so it will be hereafter. If childhood is passed without the inculcation of those high truths which influence the life,—the sense of a personal deity, the consciousness of right and wrong, the doctrine of rewards and punishments,—the probabilities are, that the restraints against vice and self-indulgence will be permanently weakened. On the contrary, the earlier instruction, moral and religious, is imparted, the more it is assimilated with the constitution, and the more efficacious it becomes.

Altius precepta descendunt, quæ teneris imprimuntur ætatibus. This dictum of the Roman philosopher is true for all people and all ages. The branch retains its bent.

Then why, it may be asked, does our Government not recognise the principle? The reply is obvious. Many hold that even where a nation is of one faith, it is not the business of the State to introduce religion into its schools. But however this may be, it is evident that where there are different religions, the objections and obstacles are vastly multiplied and may become insuperable. Such is the case in India. If the State were to inculcate Christianity in its schools and colleges, the Hindus and the Mohammedans would naturally object; and a Christian Government could not inculcate the tenets of Hinduism or Islam. The State in its schools is not indeed unmindful of the great and fundamental principles of morality; but religion the State must leave to be taught and enforced at home; it becomes the duty of the parents in their domestic training to supply the want. Many, too, would probably hold that any other course was inconsistent with the gracious assurance of the Queen, who, when assuming the direct administration of this Government, declared that while herself placing a firm reliance on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of the Christian religion, disclaimed alike the right and the desire to impose her own convictions upon her Indian subjects.

But when, apart from any official relation to the Government, we come to act in our private capacity, we are free to follow our own convictions, and it is then our general practice personally to support those institutions in which education is founded on religious principles. Believing ourselves in the divine origin of Christianity

and the inestimable blessings it confers, we thus, in our individual and private capacity, support those seminaries of youth in which education is based upon the truths of the Christian faith.

Now it is precisely because we hold these principles and make this our practice that we can fully recognise the corresponding principles upon which, from a Mohammedan point of view, this college has been founded, and can sympathise so far with the action of this Committee. And although, holding the Christian faith, we cannot ourselves contribute towards the inculcation of the tenets of Islam, we can yet fully approve the wide and liberal basis upon which the college is established. And more than this, in so far as the teaching of secular learning, history, science, and literature are separately communicated to the students, I for one am prepared to aid in rendering this department of the college, as it promises to be, thoroughly efficient towards its end.

And, in truth, the grand benefits to be secured from the instruction of your pupils with a wide range of literature and scientific knowledge are so great that they cannot possibly be overestimated. It is thus that the mind and sympathies of the youth will be enlarged. The knowledge of history and of foreign lands will correct views otherwise narrowed by the sole contemplation of what is immediately around, and enable the youth to expatiate in the experience of other ages and of other nations than their own; their minds will be improved by acquaintance with the great discoveries, mechanical and scientific, of later times; and their view will be elevated and expanded by contemplation of the works of the Creator in the starry heavens, and the wonders of nature here on earth. If you ascend even a little eminence in the country, the view expands, and the survey

becomes more distant and comprehensive. Some of you have been in the Himalayan hills. So long as you remain in a valley, the landscape is confined; you see but a few villages, and these perhaps obscured by cloud and mist. Such is the state of ignorance and narrow-mindedness in which neglected youth is left. But as you ascend, the circle amplifies; new hills, new scenes open out before you; still higher, the great plains of Hindustan, mapped as it were for hundred of miles around, stretch into sight, and the horizon is seen farther and farther in the widening distance; and if you mount yet higher, the glorious range of snow with its dazzling peaks rises into view, and the whole soul kindles at the sight. The narrowness and obscurity have gone, and a far-seeing and unbounded expansiveness taken their place. Even such is the effect of the higher education and pursuit of liberal studies. We justly expect that they will tend to expand the views and enlarge the sympathies of the youth here educated; fit them to be happier and more useful in life, and, as we may trust, draw them into closer bonds by a similarity of taste and knowledge with ourselves; in short, impart humanity in the best and highest sense.

And now one word of advice to the boys themselves. Knowledge is not the sole or highest object of your education here. Let the *élèves* of the Allygurh College be known not only for their learning, but also for their probity and faithfulness; for truth, obedience to their parents, and discharge of all the relative duties of life; for purity and self-restraint; for sympathy and consideration for the wants of others. Let those within your reach be the better and the happier for you. The pillar of social morality is just this, that you should share and lighten the burdens of your neighbour.

And when you have finished your course here, do not deem your education as if it were complete. The true student is a student all his life. You will seek to benefit your country by your learning; you will endeavour to impart to others the blessings you have yourselves received, to extend sound education, and to raise the social standard around you. It has often lain a heavy burden on my heart to see how few of your coreligionists frequent any place of education, and to think how many hundreds of thousands are left thus in utter ignorance. Let it be your aim to aid in removing the reproach. If your studies do not produce such fruits as these, they will fail of their true object. There is a kind of knowledge that is mechanical and fruitless. In the Koran it is likened to the lading of books upon an ass—*ka masal il himari yahmilu asfaran;* the ass is not a whit the wiser or the better for his load. See that this be not the case with any of you; but let the fruits be mani fest in a God-fearing, honest, and useful life.

I have often while in these provinces lamented the custom by which the females of India are left in ignorance, and have urged upon you the necessity, if you would really seek to elevate the social position of the people, of educating your girls. And here once more I would advert to the subject, for I feel persuaded that until this is done no real advance will be permanently secured. I lately saw in the papers the account of an excellent school established at Cairo by one of the wives of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt. This lady erected for the purpose a beautiful building, and procured a lady from Syria, called Sitt Rosa, with a staff of teachers. There are 200 boarders and 100 day-scholars; and they are taught all kinds of needlework, European and oriental, besides reading and writing and

useful knowledge. As I read, I thought to myself—Would that some native lady in these provinces might follow this example! Such, now, is a specimen of the way in which each and all of you might become useful to your fellow-countrymen.

Sir William Muir then acknowledged the munificent patronage of his Highness the Nawab of Rampore, G.C.S.I., and of his Highness the Maharajah of Patialla, G.C.S.I., towards the college; and the aid of Sir Salar Jang, G.C.S.I., who had accepted the office of visitor. Nawab Asghur Ally, Minister of the Nawab of Rampore, would be able to communicate to his Highness in what a promising state of forwardness Sir W. Muir had found the institution to be. Of the local gentry, Rajah Syed Bakar Ally Khan, Talookdar of Pundrawal, Lutf Ally Khan of Chittaree, and Inayatoolla Khan of Bheekumpore, were also mentioned with commendation.

Moulvie Samee-oolla, the Subordinate Judge of Allygurh, had devoted himself heart and soul to the institution; and the rapid progress already attained was in great measure due to him.

Mohammed Obeidoolla Khan, Sahebzada of Tonk, was mentioned as present with three of the Nawab's cousins, whose education at the college would show the confidence reposed in the institution by leading men in that State.

Syed Ahmed Khan, C.S.I., being himself one of his auditors, Sir W. Muir would refrain from dilating on what the college owed to him. As he had said before, that which had been the fond desire of his heart for many years, was now in fair course of being fulfilled; and the consciousness of this would be his highest reward.

Finally, Sir W. Muir had great pleasure in assuring the Committee of the warm interest taken in the institution by the Viceroy himself. Before leaving Simla, Lord Northbrook had told him that, if other public engagements should admit of his doing so, his Excellency would be prepared in the spring to lay the foundation-stone of the college.

Sir W. Muir then acknowledged the valuable assistance which the college had received from Mr Deighton, Principal of the Agra College, who had honoured them with his presence. And he concluded by saying that he trusted yet, before retiring from India, to see the college buildings well completed, and the institution in full working order. But whether or no, he would always feel the deepest interest in its progress, and from England be delighted to hear accounts from time to time of its consolidation and prosperity.

In 1876, after thirty-seven years' service, Syed Ahmed retired on his pension, and took up his abode at Allygurh. In October 1876, Sir William Muir again visited Allygurh on his way home, and was presented by Mohammedans with a beautifully engrossed address in a sandal-wood box mounted in chased silver. In the course of their address they announced that they had raised a fund to establish a scholarship, to be called after his name. "This," they said, "will be for our future generations a memorial of your zeal for Western learning, combined with your attention to the sciences of the Arabs, and an enduring

record of the deep impression which you have left on our minds, and your noble exertions on our behalf."

Sir William Muir replied as follows, first in Urdu and then in English :—

MY FRIENDS,—I receive your address with feelings of high gratification. It is a matter of the deepest satisfaction to me that, in my administration of these provinces, I should in any measure have secured the confidence of the great Mohammedan body which you represent. I feel but too conscious how far I have come short of deserving the encomiums you have bestowed upon me; yet that I should have done anything in the least degree to elicit this generous expression of your feelings, I must ever regard with pride and thankfulness Receive, then, in return, the warm reciprocation of my regard, and my sincere sorrow at the prospect of bidding a final farewell to friends among whom I have lived during the greater part of my life, and whom I so highly and affectionately esteem.

The form in which you propose to perpetuate the memory of my residence among you is the one which of all others most approves itself to my sympathy and judgment. I have long appreciated the study of the noble language in which the address is so simply and elegantly written, and have myself beguiled many an hour in the company of the early Arabic writers. I look to the highest advantages being gained by your race in India from the study of your beautiful and classical language, combined with the study of the literature and science of the West, and it is this combination which has led me to take so special an interest in the Moham-

medan College of Allygurh. It was therefore with no common feelings of pleasure that I learned your design of endowing a scholarship in my name having this object in view. May your liberal project long promote this enlightened purpose; and while, in but too kind and partial a spirit, it commemorates my own humble exertions, may this endowment serve to stimulate the ingenuous youth of the Mohammedans of Upper India to a more strenuous study and appreciation of the Arabic language.

My friends, as for yourselves, I gladly bear witness to your many virtues. During the whole course of my administration, I have ever found the Mussulmans of Upper India faithful to the Queen; and, amongst their superior ranks, very many who have been forward to support the British Government in its great work of promoting the prosperity and elevating the social and moral condition of the people.

I shall carry with me, and ever bear in my heart, the memory of the goodness I have experienced at your hands, and of associations which have enshrined many amongst you in the number of friends very dear to me. Farewell! and may every blessing attend you.—Your sincere and faithful friend, W. MUIR.

In December 1876 my wife and I went up to Delhi for the Imperial Assemblage, and met Syed Ahmed after a parting of over two years. One day in writing to my old friend his Highness the Maharaja of Benares, who was at the Assemblage, I put the letters G.C.S.I. after his name on the envelope. A few days afterwards

he came over to me quite excited, and asked me how I had known that he was to get the Grand Cross of the Star of India, as he had only received intimation that it had been bestowed upon him that morning! Syed Ahmed, years afterwards, on my telling him of this curious coincidence, reminded me that I had, in 1863, told him that I should see him in Council. Curiously enough, I also told Syed Mahmud, when he came out from England in 1873, that he would be the first Native Judge in the High Court, North-West Provinces. He has been one now (1885) for years past.

On the night of the 7th January we went to Allygurh as Syed Ahmed's guests, to witness the laying the foundation of his college by Lord Lytton. As the Viceregal party were to occupy Syed Ahmed's house, he lodged us in a house close by, and entertained us regally.

'The Pioneer' of the 8th contained an article on "Mohammedan Education," of which the following is an extract: "The ceremony which takes place to-day at Allygurh marks the great progress already made by one of the most thoroughly sound and promising movements ever set on foot for the advancement of Indian education. The name of Syed Ahmed Khan, the principal promoter of the Mohammedan Anglo-

Oriental College, will be held in grateful remembrance in the future by large masses of his countrymen, who may as yet hardly appreciate the importance of the influence he has brought to bear upon their intellectual and political development. The rising college bids fair to be a real force in this country, and its expansion is guaranteed by the fact that it is entirely spontaneous in its growth—the fruit, that is to say, of purely native sagacity and determination, in no way an exotic institution, planted by Government and watered by official favour."

Lord and Lady Lytton and party arrived at Allygurh on the 8th, and the following is the account of the ceremony from the pen of the special correspondent of 'The Pioneer':—

One of the most important movements in connection with the progress of the more advanced section of the Mohammedan body in India has to-day assumed a tangible shape, which cannot fail to attract considerable attention both from intelligent natives and from the Anglo-Indian community. It has long been recognised that a spirit of enlightened advancement has of late begun to make itself felt among the higher class of Mohammedans in India, and the untiring energy of Syed Ahmed Khan, Bahadoor, certainly one of the most remarkable men of his race, has brought about results which a few years ago would have seemed impossible. With a depth of insight which was as well guided as it was original in its working, Syed Ahmed

recognised the all-important fact that if the Mohammedan population was to assume a position in which its abilities and natural powers would have full play, it would be necessary to accept Western ideas of education, and to break through the prejudices which held his countrymen in check. Without such a system of education as would enable a Mohammedan youth to compete with English rivals for place and advancement under the Government of the country, he saw at once that the severest efforts would fail to accomplish any great purpose, and that, however supreme his own influence might be in life, it would inevitably pass away when his personal attention was withdrawn. But if, by a process of constant and unwearying labour, he was able to establish a new order of things which might, in the ordinary course of events, exercise a direct and permanent effect upon the whole Mohammedan body, then he became convinced that such labour should be given freely and ungrudgingly, as the end to be attained would contain its own reward. The elevation, morally and socially, of a race with traditions and superstitions equal to, if not surpassing, those of any Western Power, was in itself a task from which most orientals would have shrunk; but even persecution of the most bigoted kind could not deter the leader of advanced Islam in India from steadily pursuing his own course. The establishment of a college, framed as nearly as possible upon the lines of the English universities, was the particular form which his ideas assumed; and after extraordinary difficulties and opposition, he has so far broken down the barriers of his conservative countrymen that the foundation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College has become possible. The support accorded, not only by members of Syed Ahmed's creed, but by

philanthropic Englishmen and broad-minded Hindus, has been so liberal, that a future of infinite promise appears to be extended before the institution. This is not the first time that allusion has been made to the college and its special objects, and it is exceedingly gratifying that the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the building to-day was presided over by the Viceroy in person, and that his Excellency was privileged to meet a large body of representative Mohammedans whose loyalty is above reproach, and whose eagerness to advance the social condition of their fellows is based upon no selfish or unworthy motives.

Lord Lytton arrived at Allygurh by special train from Patialla at nine o'clock this morning, and was met at the station by Mr Pollock, C.S. (Commissioner of the Division); Mr Chase, C.S. (the local judge); Mr James Colvin (the collector and magistrate); Syed Ahmed Khan; the president (Kanwar Lutf Ali Khan) and vice-president of the College Fund Committee; and by the civil officers of the station. The Viceroy's party included Lady Lytton, Lord and Lady Downe, Dr Thornton, Lieutenant-Colonel Burne, C.S.I.; Dr Barnett; Captain Ross and Captain the Honourable G. Villiers (aides-de-camp). Breakfast was served at the residence of Syed Ahmed, at which a number of native gentlemen, members of the Committee, were presented to his Excellency; and a visit was afterwards paid to the present college, where the limited number of students were displaying laudable anxiety to be interviewed, on account, it is to be supposed, of the exceptional position they occupied as the first children of their Indian *alma mater*. Lord Lytton then returned to his host's house, and at noon a procession of carriages was formed to the *shamiana* which had been erected on the college grounds,

and which was already nearly filled by a large number of Mohammedan gentlemen. The privileged few who accompanied the Viceregal party were Mr Pollock, Mr Chase, Mr Colvin, Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat Khan, C.S.I.; Rajah Shambhu Narain Singh, Bahadoor; Rajah Jykishen Dass, Bahadoor, C.S.I.; Rai Kishen Kumar, Kanwar Lutf Ali Khan, and Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan. Lord Lytton was received by Syed Ahmed, and the whole of the assembly rose as his Excellency entered the *shamiana*. To the right were the seats of the native gentlemen, who had attended from all parts of the country; representatives from the Punjab, from the Deccan, and from Lower Bengal, being among the number of those present. Mr Keene, C.S., Mr Deighton, and Mr George Ross were among the Europeans on the platform. The *shamiana* itself was very tastefully arranged, and the decorations being mainly of evergreens, a striking contrast was presented between the vivid colours of the native costumes and the rich hues of the festoons which draped the sides of the temporary structure. At some little distance from the central place of attraction a large crowd of natives had assembled, and the interest displayed in the proceedings was apparently all-absorbing. The college grounds are of considerable extent, and ample accommodation was afforded to all who might wish to witness the ceremony. On the outskirts were drawn up vehicles innumerable, and the presence of a few elephants with gaudy howdahs served to add to the general picturesque effect.

As soon as the Viceroy was seated, after acknowledgment of his reception, Mr Syed Mahmud stepped forward and read the following address, in which the objects sought to be obtained in the establishment of the college are clearly stated:—

ADDRESS.

To H.E. the Right Hon. EDWARD ROBERT LYTTON BULWER-LYTTON,
Baron LYTTON of Knebworth, G.M.S.I.,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On an occasion like the present, when we, the loyal subjects of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India, are assembled here from all parts of this vast empire to inaugurate the foundation of an educational institution, the first of its kind in this country, it will not be out of place to express in a public manner the profound gratitude which we feel for the great attention which the English Government in India has paid to the education of our countrymen. It is, indeed, only doing justice to our feelings when we say that never before in the history of the world has one nation so striven to raise the moral and intellectual state of another. But whilst fully sensible of the gratitude which we owe to the English Government for those generous efforts in our behalf, we may be permitted to hold it as an undoubted truth that no nation can ever become truly civilised till it takes upon itself the all-important though difficult task of self-education. We may go even further and say that the greatest efforts on the part of the Government in matters of this kind must more or less depend for their success on the support which they receive from the people. From the very outset it has, we believe, been the object and desire of our rulers that, while they on their part lent all possible support and countenance, the people of this country should ultimately learn to take into their own hands the management of national education.

We, the Mussulman subjects of her Imperial Majesty,

consider ourselves more particularly bound in gratitude to the Government of India for its having of late years shown so strong a disposition to advance the cause of education amongst our community, and for issuing directions to the provincial Governments to adopt special measures to supply our intellectual needs. That we have not availed ourselves so fully as we might of the education offered by the State, is due to a variety of causes. The social conditions of our community—the traditions of the past, to which time has lent a charm, no less vague than prejudicial—the religious feelings inculcated with our earliest infancy—have been, and still are, obstacles to a thorough appreciation of English education. So different in many respects are our educational wants from those of the rest of the population of India, that the best measures which the Government can adopt, consistently with its policy, must still be inadequate; and even if it were not opposed to the wise policy of Government to interfere in matters of religion, it would be beyond its powers to remove difficulties which owe their strength to religious ideas, and will only yield to theological discussion. The Government could neither introduce a system of religious instruction, nor could it direct its efforts towards contending with the prejudices of a race by whom religion is regarded not merely as a matter of abstract belief, but also as the ultimate guide in the most ordinary secular concerns of life. The treatment which the question of Mohammedan education has in this respect received at the hands of the Government, is fully appreciated by us, and leaves no room for any kind of dissatisfaction or complaint.

Recognising the difficulties which had thus prevented the Government educational system from fully exercis-

ing its beneficial effects upon the intellectual and moral condition of our community, a few of its more advanced members determined to establish a college upon principles which should meet the wishes and supply the educational wants of the members of our faith. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee was accordingly formed to carry out this object. Their endeavours had at first to encounter a very formidable opposition from the bulk of the Mussulman community—an opposition due to the same causes that had kept Mohammedans away from the Government colleges and schools throughout the country. But the supporters of the new movement met this opposition with firmness and patience, and their efforts have been crowned with a large measure of success. The opposition, at one time so dangerous, is gradually dying away, and the promoters of the scheme may well be proud that their endeavours have reached the stage at which your Excellency finds them to-day. Trusting to that sympathy which, in a well-governed country, must always exist between the dominant race and those over whom they bear rule, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee determined to invite subscriptions from the English community as well as from the members of their own faith. Nor did the Committee omit to ask the aid of their Hindu fellow-countrymen; for they felt that neither race nor creed would, with rightly thinking men, stand in the way of support to an undertaking such as theirs. Their expectations have in both cases been amply justified, and it is our pleasant duty to make mention of the chief benefactors of this college.

Foremost among them stands your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Northbrook, whose handsome donation

of Rs. 10,000 has, by his desire, been devoted to the founding of scholarships which will be called after his name—a name the Mussulmans of India have good reason to hold in high honour.

Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., whom the people of this country will long remember for his interest in everything connected with education, showed his warm sympathy with this project, not only by his personal liberality, but by granting us, when Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces, the spacious grounds on which the buildings of this college will stand. These grounds will be laid out as a park, which, in token of the gratitude we justly owe to Sir W. Muir, will be called after his name.

To Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I., late Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces, no less a measure of our thanks is due. At a time when the Committee stood in urgent need of help—when its endeavours were most in danger from the opposition of those who, having influence in the country, would have used it against us without pausing to consider the importance of the effort being made—he not only helped us munificently from his own purse, but also made us a special grant from the money annually allotted by Government to the department of Public Instruction. This timely assistance has enabled the Committee to open the school department, the classes in which are gradually working up to the course laid down for the college. But what the Committee values most is the genuine sympathy which he has shown towards our endeavours, and the outspoken manner in which he has countenanced our schemes. That there may be some record, however insufficient, of our feelings of deep respect and affection towards one who has deserved so well

of us, the central hall of the college buildings will receive the name of the "Strachey Hall."

To your Excellency we find it difficult to express in fitting terms the loyal gratitude with which we regard the honour you to-day confer upon us by condescending to grace a ceremony which has drawn together so large a number of our countrymen from all parts of India. To preserve the memory of an act so indicative of that true interest in the welfare of her Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects which has characterised your Excellency's administration, we have, by your Excellency's gracious permission, determined to call the library of the college after your Excellency's name; and we entertain a sincere hope that the building will not be unworthy of the honour which it thus receives.

Conspicuous amongst those who, without having any especial connection with this country, have taken an interest in our labours and supported them by their generosity, is the name of Lord Stanley of Alderley. To him and to our other friends in England, the founders of this college would tender their warmest thanks. The record of their goodwill preserved in the archives of this college will, in after-ages, serve to show that the generous sympathy of a warm-hearted nation was not grudged to the Mussulmans of India when making an independent effort to raise themselves in the intellectual scale.

But while recounting the benefactors of this college, it would be ungracious to mention those to whom we owe material support, and to pass by those whose advice and co-operation have been scarcely less essential to the success of our undertaking. Especially would we acknowledge our obligations to Mr K. Deighton, the President, and to Mr J. Elliott and Mr W. H.

Smith, members of our Committee of Directors of Secular Education. Their assistance, so readily given, is a guarantee that the course of instruction laid down for our college will be sound and liberal, and that the progress of our students will receive watchful supervision.

To our Hindu friends also our thanks are largely due. Foremost among them is the name, remembered by us with no less sorrow than gratitude, of his Highness Sri Maharao Rajah Mohandar Singh, Mohandar Bahadoor, G.C.S.I., the late Maharajah of Patialla, whose munificent contributions to the college amount to no less than Rs. 58,000. Their Highnesses the Maharajah of Vizianagram, K.C.S.I., and the Maharajah of Benares, head the list, which includes the names of many liberal-minded Hindu gentlemen, whose philanthropy forbids them to recognise distinctions of race and creed. In their large-hearted public spirit we see the germs of that true toleration and genuine sympathy which are the direct result of peace and good government.

At the enthusiastic response which the members of our faith have made to the appeal of the Committee, all true friends of India will, we are sure, rejoice. The countenance shown to the scheme by his Excellency Sir Salar Jang, G.C.S.I., and through him by the Government of his Highness the Nizam, has added gratitude to those feelings of sincere respect and true admiration with which his enlightened efforts on behalf of civilisation have always been regarded by the people of this country, and which make him an illustrious ornament of the nobility of India. His Excellency's sympathy with our efforts, and his acceptance of the office of visitor of the college, have conferred on our humble endeavours a prestige which must make Eng-

lish education attractive to the highest classes of our countrymen. As a mark of our gratitude to his Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who has endowed the college with the princely sum of Rs. 90,000, the Committee has determined to call the museum of the college after his Highness's name.

With similar feelings of grateful pride we would mention the name of his Highness Nawab Mohummud Kalb Ali Khan, Bahadoor, G.C.S.I., Nawab of Rampur, who, as patron of the Committee, is closely concerned with our labours, and whose generosity has been most liberally extended to our scheme. His Highness's unavoidable absence on the present occasion is the only circumstance which mars our otherwise unalloyed pleasure.

The Committee has further to express its best thanks to Khalifa Syed Mohammud Hassan Khan, Bahadoor, of Patialla, whose enlightened zeal has largely contributed to our success.

Nor should the names be forgotten of Nawab Faiz Ali Khan, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I., of Pahasu; Kanwar Mohammud Lutf Ali Khan, of Chhatari; Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan, of Pindrawal; Khwaja Ahsanullah, Khan Bahadoor, of Dacca; and Mohammud Inayatoolla Khan, of Bhikampur,—all of whom have shown a warm appreciation of the objects of the Committee, and a generosity worthy of the importance of the movement.

The college, of which your Excellency is about to lay the foundation-stone, differs in many important respects from all other educational institutions which this country has seen. There have before been schools and colleges founded and endowed by private individuals. There have been others built by sovereigns and supported by the revenues of the State. But this is the

first time in the history of the Mohammedans of India that a college owes its establishment, not to the charity or love of learning of an individual, not to the splendid patronage of a monarch, but to the combined wishes and the united efforts of a whole community. It has its origin in causes which the history of this country has never witnessed before. It is based upon principles of toleration and progress such as find no parallel in the annals of the East. The British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen. That a race living in a distant region, differing from us in language, in manners, in religion—in short, in all that distinguishes the inhabitants of one country from those of another—should triumph over the barriers which nature has placed in its way, and unite under one sceptre the various peoples of this vast continent, is in itself wonderful enough. But that they, who have thus become the masters of the soil, should rule its inhabitants, not with those feelings and motives which inspired the conquerors of the ancient world, but should make it the first principle of their government to advance the happiness of the millions of a subject race, by establishing peace, by administering justice, by spreading education, by introducing the comforts of life which modern civilisation has bestowed upon mankind, is to us a manifestation of the hand of Providence, and an assurance of long life to the union of India with England. To make these facts clear to the minds of our countrymen; to educate them, so that they may be able to appreciate these blessings; to dispel those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our progress; to remove those prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence on our race; to reconcile oriental learning with Western literature and science; to

inspire in the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West; to make the Mussulmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown; to inspire in them that loyalty which springs, not from servile submission to a foreign rule, but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of good government,—these are the objects which the founders of the college have prominently in view. And looking at the difficulties which stood in our way, and the success which has already been achieved, we do not doubt that we shall continue to receive, even in larger measure, both from the English Government and from our own countrymen, that liberal support which has furthered our scheme, so that from the seed which we sow to-day there may spring up a mighty tree, whose branches, like those of the banyan of the soil, shall in their turn strike firm roots into the earth, and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings; that this college may expand into a university, whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free inquiry, of large-hearted toleration, and of pure morality.

And now, before asking your Excellency to lay the foundation-stone of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, we cannot refrain from expressing a feeling which, we are sure, fills the bosoms not only of those here present, but of the whole Mussulman community—the feeling of pride that the laying of the foundation-stone of a Mohammedan College should be the first public ceremony in which the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, as the representative of that august Sovereign whose reign has added to the welfare of millions, has taken part since the assumption by her Imperial Majesty of her title of Empress of India.

And allied to this sentiment, to which the oriental mind attaches no small importance, is one which we shall ever cherish — the feeling of deep and grateful satisfaction that the foundation-stone of the first national institution for the propagation of learning among the Mussulmans of India was laid by one to whom literature is an inheritance, and whose name is illustrious alike in the world of letters and in that of politics.

Signed on behalf of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee by

LUTF ALI KHAN, *President.*
SYED BAKAR ALI KHAN, *Vice-President.*
SYED AHMED, *Honorary Secretary.*

ALLYGURH, *the 8th January* 1877.

His Excellency listened very attentively to the address, and expressed his assent with the more forcibly stated opinions in an unmistakable way. Mr Syed Mahmud gave expression to the views contained in this exhaustive document—for the movement was explained and justified in the most elaborate manner—with emphasis, and with just appreciation of the importance of the sentiments sought to be conveyed; and upon the conclusion of the address he presented the parchment copy, enclosed in a silver case, to Lord Lytton, who in return made the following response :—

GENTLEMEN, — I cannot doubt that the ceremony on behalf of which we are now assembled, constitutes an epoch in the social progress of India under British rule, which is no less creditable to the past than pregnant with promise for the future. In this belief I rejoice that

I have been able to take part in it; and I cordially reciprocate the sentiments expressed in the address with which you have greeted me. Your regretful acknowledgment of the peculiar difficulties which have hitherto beset the progress of modern education among the Mohammedan community in India attests the sincerity, and enhances the value, of your welcome assurance that this important community is now resolved to rely mainly on its own efforts for the gradual removal of those difficulties. The well-known vigour of the Mohammedan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions, if they be fairly and firmly devoted to the attainment of this object. I need not remind you, gentlemen, of the old story of the man who prayed to Hercules to help his cart out of the rut. It was not till he put his own shoulder to the wheel that his prayer was granted. I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulder to the wheel. Only give to this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of education, and you will thereby have given it also a just and recognised claim to such assistance as it may, from time to time, be in the power of Government to extend to voluntary efforts on behalf of such education. This I promise you; and I promise it the more willingly, because the whole tone of your address assures me that my promise, instead of inducing you to relax the efforts you are now making, will encourage your perseverance in the prosecution and extension of them. You have observed, in the course of the address, that by the Mohammedan race its religion is regarded "not merely as a matter of abstract belief, but also as the ultimate guide in the most secular concerns of life." Gentlemen, I conceive this to be the true spirit of all sincere religious belief;

for the guidance of human conduct in relation to all the duties of life is the proposed object of every religion, whatever the name and whatever the form of it. But you will, I am sure, be the last to admit that anything in the creed of Islam is incompatible with the highest forms of intellectual culture. The greatest and most enduring conquests of the Mohammedan races have all been achieved in the fields of science, literature, and art. Not only have they given to a great portion of this continent an architecture which is still the wonder and admiration of the world, but in an age when the Christian societies of Europe had barely emerged out of intellectual darkness and social barbarism, they covered the whole Iberian Peninsula with schools of medicine, of mathematics, and philosophy, far in advance of all contemporary science; and to this day the populations of Spain and Portugal, for their very sustenance, are mainly dependent on the past labours of Moorish engineers. But Providence has not confided to any single race a permanent initiative in the direction of human thought or the development of social life. The modern culture of the West is now in a position to repay the great debt owed by it to the early wisdom of the East. It is to the activity of Western ideas, and the application of Western science, that we must now look for the social and political progress of this Indian empire; and it is in the absorption of those ideas and the mastery of that science, that I exhort the Mohammedans of India to seek and find new fields of conquest, and fresh opportunities for the achievements of a noble ambition. Gentlemen, when the printing-press was first discovered, a certain monk predicted that unless that dangerous innovation were immediately suppressed, it would soon put an end to the power of every Government. "Be-

cause," he said, "so much lead would be used up in the making of type, that none would be left for the making of bullets." That prediction, as we all know, has not been verified. Governments still find it necessary to make bullets, and still find lead enough to make them. But for the maintenance of that dominion to which the British Government most aspires, the printing-press is an instrument quite as powerful as the cannon. Allow me therefore to indicate, in passing, one special reason for the satisfaction with which I welcome the establishment of this college. There is no object which the Government of India has more closely at heart than that the plain principles of its rule should be thoroughly intelligible to all its subjects, from the highest to the humblest. But for my own part, I cannot anticipate the complete attainment of this object until the precepts of English polity have been translated, not only into vernacular forms of speech, but also into vernacular forms of thought. For such an undertaking it is obvious that a body of cultivated natives is better fitted than twice the number of English officials, or twenty times the number of European scholars; and I can truly say that those who succeed in such an undertaking will have thereby rendered not only to the Government, but also to all their countrymen, a service that cannot be too highly appreciated. Therefore, whilst warmly sympathising with you in my appreciation of the difficulties you have encountered, and thus far successfully overcome, and whilst cordially congratulating you on the success with which you have overcome them, I welcome that success, not for your sakes only, but for the sake of the whole empire—trusting it may prove a salutary incentive to similar efforts in other directions for the general diffusion, not merely of intel-

lectual culture, but of what is still more important, the appreciation of intellectual culture, throughout India. You have referred to the exertions made by Government to stimulate such voluntary efforts. I am glad to recognise in the creation of this institution a proof that the exertions have not been in vain; but I need hardly remind you that neither in the matter of education, nor anything else, can the Government undertake to provide an artificial supply for which there is no national demand. Your address has rightly given prominent notice to the assistance you have received in the promotion of this college from many influential personages not within the pale of your community. That fact is full of promise and encouragement, for it indicates that others as well as yourselves are alive to the importance of the cause you represent, and recognise in the attainment of the objects you have set before you a general benefit confined to no class or creed of the community. In graceful recognition of the sympathy and aid received from those whose race and religion differ from your own, you have resolved to associate with the endowment and construction of your college the names of some of its most eminent benefactors. You could not have selected names more worthy of such lasting recognition than those of my distinguished predecessor, Lord Northbrook, and my valued colleagues, Sir William Muir and Sir John Strachey—statesmen whose sympathies have always been in accordance with the object you have at heart, and whose labours have done so much to render possible the attainment of it. It is with great pleasure that I accept your flattering offer to associate my own name with names already so illustrious. A library is the best society to which any man could be admitted; for it is an assemblage of the world's greatest benefactors—the wise and

good of all ages: *hic vivant vivere digni*—here live those who are worthy to live; and I esteem it a privilege to lay the foundation of a building under whose sheltering roof the number of such worthies is likely to increase. In doing so I heartily wish God-speed to yourselves, your college, and your cause.

His Excellency then proceeded to the end of the *shamiana* and formally laid the foundation-stone, which was lowered to its proper position under the direction of Mr Noyes, executive engineer. A bottle containing scrolls and coins was deposited in a cavity of the foundation, and a metal plate with a suitable inscription was placed over this. The stone having been proved to be correctly laid, the Viceroy tapped it three times with a mallet and said, "I declare this stone to be well and truly laid." He then returned to his seat, and Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat Khan said that, on behalf of the Fund Committee and of the Mohammedan community at large, he had to thank his Excellency for the great honour he had conferred upon them that day in laying the foundation-stone of the college. He had also to express the extreme feeling of grateful pleasure with which they had regarded the presence of Lady Lytton. They were now assured of the interest her ladyship was pleased to take in their labours. His Excellency, in reply, said: "On behalf of Lady Lytton and myself, I need not repeat to you that it has given me great satisfaction to be present here to lay the foundation-stone of this college. I trust that before I leave India I may have the happiness of seeing the college itself, if not positively completed, at least far advanced towards completion."

The Viceregal party then returned to the house of

Syed Ahmed, where luncheon was served, and at three o'clock they proceeded to the railway station and left for Agra. The whole proceedings were perfectly carried out, and the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new college was in every respect a great success.

DINNER AT THE ALLYGURH INSTITUTE.

In the evening a public dinner was given by the members of the College Fund Committee at the Allygurh Institute, to which some sixty guests were invited. The company included about an equal number of Mohammedans and Europeans. Kanwar Lutf Ali Khan presided, and the vice-chair was occupied by Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan. Syed Ahmed Khan and Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat were also present.

The first toast was "The Empress of India and the prosperity of the British rule in India." This was proposed by Mr Syed Mahmud on behalf of the president of the Committee, and in the course of his speech he said that of course in a country so far distant from England as was India, the imagination of the people in regard to their monarch could assume no very definite shape. But still there were many reasons why those who had never seen their Empress should regard her with feelings of affection equal to that experienced by those who had seen her over and over again. To them the Empress of India appeared through the wonderful management and good government which had made the country prosperous, and had restored to it that peace and happiness which had been unknown for centuries. With respect to the latter part of the toast, to the Mohammedan mind the British rule in India and the person of the Empress of India were one and the same thing. They had been accustomed for a long

time to live as a subject race. Ever since the beginning of the English rule, the people of India, and especially the Mohammedan community, had been unable to take that part in the social intercourse with English gentlemen which they ought certainly to have taken. There had been numerous causes which had led to this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and in the course of continual discussions he had heard it repeatedly said that the reason why there was so little intercourse between the two races was that the English people were too exclusive in their ideas. He had also heard it stated by his English friends that the natives of India had prejudices and feelings which prevented them joining in social intercourse with the English. He for his own part looked upon the unsatisfactory state of things as due to the absence of proper education in the Mohammedan community. Of course the main object of the college of which the foundation-stone had just been laid, was to remove this unsatisfactory condition of affairs; and the Viceroy himself had said, that in trying to remove this they were removing the great obstacle to international intercourse between Englishmen and the Mussulman community. He (Mr Syed Mahmud) was perfectly certain that, however small might be the intercourse at present, there were many men, both in the English and Mohammedan communities in India, who looked upon each other in the light of fellow-subjects—who did not consider the one as ruled and the other as ruler. He was confident that the bond of being subject to the same monarch, of being governed by the same laws, of living under the same rules of social life—because laws did govern social life—exercised a much greater power than the mere personal conduct of individuals of both races. However inadequately he had expressed the

feelings which filled the hearts of his friends the members of the Committee, and especially of the president, he sincerely hoped that the toast would be drunk with as great enthusiasm by the Englishmen present as it would be by the Mohammedans. He coupled with it the name of Mr Chase. The toast was drunk with enthusiastic loyalty, and Mr Chase briefly replied. He said that he had been many years in India, not merely in times of peace, but on occasions of great excitement, and he had known their Mohammedan friends risk their all, even lives, for the good order and prosperity of the country. He had no hesitation in saying that no hearts more loyal to their Empress and more honest in their desire for the welfare of their fellow-men existed than those which beat in the breasts of the Mussulman friends around them. He had to propose that they should drink "Prosperity to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College," coupled with the names of the president and the members of the Fund Committee.

The toast was honoured, and Mr Syed Mahmud again responded, apologising for a second address on the ground that the president could not speak English. He observed that the new college owed its origin entirely to the endeavours of a few enlightened Mussulmans, who had taken special care and trouble to study not only the present politics of the country, but also the past history of the empire. They had known, as indeed every Mohammedan of observation must know, that at the time when the greatest of Indian monarchs ruled at Delhi—when his court was renowned all over the world for its magnificence—when Jehangir was called the Just, and Shahjahan the Magnificent, and when Akbar was called the Great,—the best of good government was nothing compared with the present state of things in

India. They were aware that it was entirely due to the peace which the English nation had established in India, to the civilised means of travelling which machinery had introduced into the country, to the warm sympathy of those who held the reins of government, that success had been attained. The Committee felt, and all who were interested in the college shared their feelings, that the present movement among their body was really due to the same feelings which inspired the same advanced classes in England. On behalf of the Committee, of which he was a member, he had to offer the guests present most sincere thanks, and he had also to propose the toast of their healths. In doing so, he wished to give expression to the feeling of gratitude and friendship which he and his brother Mohammedans felt towards them. Their presence there that night meant more than joining merely in a social gathering. It meant that such of the English gentlemen as had been able to spare time to attend that meeting were fully aware of the object the Committee had in view, and were ready to give their help so far as lay in their power, and to be associated with them in their efforts to achieve success. He therefore proposed the health of the guests, coupled with the name of Mr Keene.

The toast was drunk by the Mohammedans present; and Mr Keene, in responding, expressed on behalf of his fellow-guests his appreciation, not merely of the honour which had been done them by his learned friend Mr Syed Mahmud, but of the measure of hospitality and courtesy with which they had been received that evening. There was one duty which he had to perform, and he felt that he must not shrink from it, however desirous he might be of resuming his seat. In drawing attention to the eminent services which had been rendered to

society by Syed Ahmed Khan, he had the advantage which was due to a tolerably long acquaintance with the worthy Syed. It was now nearly twelve years since that he had the honour of being associated with that gentleman in the administration of justice in that very district, and he should not forget the assiduity, fidelity, and intelligence with which he had discharged his duties. Syed Ahmed's breadth of view and large-hearted charity were well known, and he (Mr Keene) had sincere pleasure in seeing him gather the first-fruits of his harvest. A man with such a mind as he possessed was very likely to move the world. For that reason he believed that the very well-ordered ceremony they had that day witnessed was not merely the foundation of a school, but marked an epoch in the history of the country. After the Viceroy's graceful reply he did not feel justified in saying much upon the subject; but this he must say, that what they had seen was as likely, as far as anything human could be predicted, to form the germ of a very wide and important movement that would live in history, and with it would live the name of the good and excellent man to whose unceasing devotion and labours it was indebted for its origin.

Syed Ahmed Khan, in reply, said: The enthusiasm with which you have drunk my health fills me with feelings of a mixed nature. I feel obliged to you for the great honour you have done me—I feel sincerely happy that the events of to-day have passed off well; but along with these feelings there is a consciousness that I am neither worthy of the honour you have done me, nor that the success which the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College has hitherto secured is due to my exertions to the extent you imagine. But, gentlemen, there is one thing which I admit sincerely and without

any hesitation, and that is, that the college of which the foundation-stone has been laid to-day, has been for many years the main object of my life. Ever since I first began to think of social questions in British India, it struck me with peculiar force that there was a want of genuine sympathy and community of feeling between the two races whom Providence has placed in such close relation in this country. I often asked myself how it was that a century of English rule had not brought the natives of this country closer to those in whose hands Providence had placed the guidance of public affairs. For a whole century and more, you, gentlemen, have lived in the same country in which we have lived; you have breathed the same air; you have drunk the same water; you have lived upon the same crops as have given nourishment to millions of your Indian fellow-subjects; yet the absence of social intercourse, which is implied by the word friendship, between the English and the natives of this country, has been most deplorable. And whenever I have considered the causes to which this unsatisfactory state of things is due, I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of community of feeling between the two races was due to the absence of the community of ideas and the community of interests. And, gentlemen, I felt equally certain that, so long as this state of things continued, the Mussulmans of India could make no progress under the English rule. It then appeared to me that nothing could remove these obstacles to progress but education: and education, in its fullest sense, has been the object in furthering which I have spent the most earnest moments of my life, and employed the best energies that lay within my humble power. Yes, the college is an outcome to a certain extent of my humble efforts, but

there are other hands whose assistance has not only been most valuable, but absolutely essential to the success of the undertaking; and I feel sure that the honour of the success is due to them rather than to me. But, gentlemen, the personal honour which you have done me to-night assures me of a great fact, and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent the British rule, have sympathies with our labours; and to me this assurance is very valuable, and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a great comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now the sole object of my life, has roused on one hand the energies of my own countrymen, and on the other it has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects and the support of our rulers; so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the college will still prosper, and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow-subjects, as have been the ruling feelings of my life. Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour you have done me, and sincerely reciprocate the good wishes you have so kindly expressed this evening.

This concluded the list of toasts, and the guests shortly after separated.

CHAPTER XIV.

SYED AHMED IN THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL—THE DEKKHAN AGRICULTURISTS RELIEF BILL—EDUCATION COMMISSION—VISIT FROM SIR SALAR JANG—EDUCATION COMMISSION IN THE NORTH-WEST—VISIT TO THE PANJAB.

IN 1878, Syed Ahmed was, by Lord Lytton, made a member of the Viceroy's Council, an appointment which crowned his long and honourable career. The speech made by the great Duke of Wellington on the occasion of the dinner given to Sir John Malcolm by the Board of Directors, on the occasion of Sir John's appointment to the Government of Bombay, by substituting Hindustan for England and Mohammedan for Englishman, reads thus, and is most applicable to Syed Ahmed's appointment to Council: "A nomination such as this operates throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan. The youngest Mohammedan sees in it an example he may imitate, a success he may attain. The good which the country derives from the excitement of such

feelings is incalculable." Syed Ahmed remained in Council for two years, and was for the second time appointed by Lord Ripon in 1880. He was thus four years altogether in Council. Amongst his speeches I select two, one on the Dekkhan Agriculturists Relief Bill, and the other on Vaccination :—

MY LORD,—I agree with the honourable member in his motion that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. But before the Bill goes to the Committee, I wish, with your Excellency's permission, to make a few observations with regard to the principles upon which the proposed legislation is based.

It may be accepted as an indisputable principle that special laws should only be introduced to meet special cases. The disturbances in the Dekkhan, which have given rise to this Bill, revealed the existence of considerable distress among the agricultural classes. The causes appear to have been the following. Owing to the large exportation of cotton during the American war, the prices, both of that article and of all agricultural produce, greatly increased. This increase led to an increase in the expenditure and in the credit of agriculturists. It also appeared to justify an increase in the Government revenue, which was accordingly imposed in some of the districts, and, as it appears, unequally. When the demand for Indian cotton fell off, the prices of all agricultural produce fell ; and the fund out of which the agriculturists had to meet the increased revenue, and the debts which they had contracted, became insufficient for that purpose. Credit could no longer be procured ; and the *raiyats*, whether instigated

by disloyal persons or of their own motion, commenced to attack and plunder the houses of money-lenders, and especially of the class of Marwaris, who, being strangers, were particularly obnoxious to them. It does not appear from the evidence of the rioters taken by the Commission that these men complained of the action of the civil courts. Many of them asserted that they were not in debt, and others that they had not been sued for their debts; but, seeing that the object of the rioters was not only plunder but the recovery of bonds, it seems manifest that there had been a refusal of credit, and, in all probability, threats of proceedings in court for the recovery of outstanding debts. It also appears that, by reason of a scanty and uncertain rainfall, the productive powers of the districts are usually uncertain, and have for some years been abnormally small.

My lord, no doubt a case has been made out for the application of special measures of relief, and I fully admit that that relief should take the form of a law providing facilities for the release of debtors from debts which they can have no hope of discharging, and which, while they remain subject to them, deprive them of the ordinary motives for exertion—the attainment of something more than bare livelihood.

But, my lord, while it is desirable to give greater facilities to the *raiyats* of the Dekkhan, whose ruin has been accomplished by unforeseen circumstances, to free themselves from debts which paralyse their industry, care must be taken that the remedies are such as will not deter the people from having recourse to them, nor impair the credit which is ordinarily given to agriculturists, and without which they would be unable to meet the demand for revenue, or to sustain themselves from harvest to harvest.

The requirements of the present Bill as to registration appear to me so onerous, that they will operate to deter persons from committing their transactions to writing. Registration affords a very doubtful proof of the payment of money. It is a common experience in this country that money paid in the presence of the registration officer is in part or wholly returned when the parties leave the presence of the registrar. It is rarely denied that a transaction has taken place; but if a dispute arises, it is as to the amount received.

The portion of the Bill which relates to conciliation also deserves serious consideration. The Bill provides for the appointment of conciliators, who, having invited the parties to attend, are to use their best endeavours to induce them to agree to an amicable settlement. Now the matter on which the parties are supposed to be at variance is not a mere dispute arising out of domestic or friendly relations, in which the impartiality of a stranger or the influence of a neighbour can be hopefully introduced, to persuade the parties to make mutual concessions; and therefore I am not hopeful that this provision will be of practical use. No doubt a revenue officer or a police officer could bring influences to bear on creditors which would induce them altogether to forego their claims; but I need hardly express my conviction that the Government of India would altogether discountenance the exercise of any such influence; and I have no doubt the Council, in order to avoid even the apprehension of its exercise, will see fit to introduce a provision in the Bill prohibiting the appointment as conciliator of any officer exercising revenue or police functions.

On the other hand, the attendance before the conciliator will put the parties to considerable inconvenience.

The conciliator can only "invite" them to attend; and if the defendant does not attend, the conciliator may adjourn the case for an indefinite time and as often as he pleases. A claimant may have to waste any number of days to obtain relief in the most trifling case; and there is no provision to secure him compensation.

My lord, in my judgment there is more reason to expect that a creditor will abate his claims when the parties are brought face to face in a public court of justice, than at a private sitting held by a conciliator; but if it is resolved that an experiment be made, at least provisions should be introduced to secure the appointment of conciliators to whom all parties can resort with equal confidence, and to restrict adjournments.

My lord, I now come to the provisions relating to the procedure in the civil courts; and before I offer any remarks upon them, I must defend my countrymen from some imputations which have been, I think unfairly, cast on them, and received as true without sufficient inquiry. It is said they are prone to litigation. In those provinces in which I have acquired experience, I have found no facts to warrant this conclusion. Looking to the numbers of the population and their innumerable transactions resulting in credit, the number of suits for the recovery of debt will compare not unfavourably with the statistics of any other civilised country. Creditors rarely sue their debtors unless a dispute has arisen, or unless they desire, by obtaining a decree, to secure an advantage over other creditors. Nor is it true, as has been frequently asserted, that the village money-lender generally desires to acquire the land of his debtor. He looks for the return of his money principally to the crop raised by the labour of his debtor, and takes a mortgage to prevent the debtor's making

away with the crop, or defeating his claim in favour of another money-lender. In the hands of the money-lender, who cannot himself cultivate, the land is worth only the rent a tenant could give for it.

Again, in a large majority of cases the claims brought are just, and the defendants do not seek to evade them by unjust defences. I do not mean to say that there are not in this country, as elsewhere, extortionate usurers and persons who advance false claims in courts of justice, and also debtors who have recourse to fraud to defeat just claims; but I believe—and I have seen no proof to the contrary—that the civil courts have, in the ordinary course of their procedure, not failed in this country more than elsewhere to detect fraud and defeat its intended consequences. In fact, our acquaintance with such frauds is derived chiefly from the investigations of courts of civil justice.

I would also observe that in this country, where opportunities for small investments rarely present themselves except in the shape of loans on the security of land, there is a large number of persons who are not professional money-lenders, but who invest their savings in such securities, and almost universally charge no higher interest than the usual rate in the market. The first deviation from the ordinary procedure which I find in the Bill, is the compulsory enforcement of the attendance of the defendant. My lord, if I am right in supposing that in the majority of cases the claim is just, it follows that in the majority of cases in which the defendant does not appear, it is because he knows the complaint is just, and does not desire to lose the labour of several days, possibly at a critical season for his crop, and incur the expense of going to and from and attending the court. It would perhaps be sufficient to require

the court to exercise the power it already possesses, of enforcing the attendance of the defendant only in those cases in which, on looking into the account, it sees reason to believe the claim is fraudulent or extortionate. The rule prescribed in the Bill appears to me calculated to injure rather than benefit the majority of defendants.

The provisions of the Bill which direct the court to go into the history of the case from the commencement of the transactions, I think also require modification. They may involve an inquiry imposing on a court many days' labour, and affording it no certain conclusions. It is scarcely reasonable to expect either of the parties to produce reliable evidence of petty money transactions extending over a number of years, and commencing, it may be, a quarter of a century ago, especially seeing that the limitation-law has encouraged them to believe that such evidence would not be required of them. I therefore think some definite and not too remote period should be prescribed for such inquiries. So also a definite limit of time should be prescribed for reopening statements and settlements of accounts. Some debts which will come before the courts will be the result of transactions commenced and settled before the lifetime of either party to the suit. The consequence of imposing on the courts a duty they cannot possibly discharge would be to encourage them to evade it.

My lord, I think it right to point out that the provisions of section 12, requiring the court to search for a defence "on the ground of fraud, mistake, accident, undue influence" (whatever that expression may mean), "or otherwise," are calculated to encourage defendants to set up false defences, and to support them with false evidence; and for this reason they call for very serious consideration. Nor can I give my consent to the pro-

visions of section 15, forcing an arbitration on parties whether they consent to it or not. Competent and impartial arbitrators are rarely to be found in villages; and it is one of the acknowledged privileges of British citizenship, that for the vindication of right recourse may be had to judges of whose competency and impartiality their selection by the State is a guarantee.

My lord, I am also unable to agree with the principle upon which section 16 of the Bill is based. The provisions of that section appear to me to be contrary to Hindu law as administered on this side of India, and to general equity. If a Hindu dies leaving assets, then *whoever* takes his assets, in whatever degree he may be related to the deceased, and even if he be a stranger, is liable to satisfy the debts of the deceased to the extent of the assets, and, where such debts bear interest, with interest. This rule is common to the English and Mohammedan as well as to the Hindu law. The Hindu law does, indeed, impose a moral obligation on the descendants of a deceased person to pay his debts, and when the descendants are related to the deceased in the first degree, with interest; but this obligation, which has not the force of law, is not enforced by the courts on this side of India, and ought, I think, in no case to be enforced to the injury of *bonâ fide* creditors of the descendants of the deceased.

In section 20, which provides that a debtor owing less than fifty rupees, who is unable wholly to pay the debt, should be discharged on payment of a portion, it appears to me necessary to specify what portion he is to pay—whether it be so much as he is able or a percentage; but this point will no doubt receive the attention of the Committee.

The provisions of the Bill tending to prevent the em-

ployment of Vakils appear to me to be of very doubtful expediency. Having exercised judicial functions for many years, I am bound to say the courts receive considerable assistance from Vakils, and that the more ignorant the suitor is, the less probability is there he will be able to explain his case in the confusion he experiences in a court of justice, as well as he can to his adviser outside the court. I would prefer to see provision made for the employment of Government pleaders, to appear on behalf of debtors in all cases, rather than discountenance the employment of pleaders at all.

With regard to appeals, which are entirely prohibited in the Bill, I admit that they entail evils, in that they prolong litigation and increase expense; but it seems to me better to experience these evils than the greater evil of imperfect justice. Cases triable by the Courts of Small Causes ordinarily present very simple issues, and do not call for the intervention of a superior court; but questions relating to land are far more complicated, and involve frequently questions on which the law is not well settled. I can see no reason why appeals should in these cases be refused in the Dekkhan when they are allowed elsewhere. Revision is, at the best, an imperfect substitute for the right of appeal.

For similar reasons, I consider the expediency of introducing special rules of limitation, proposed in the Bill, open to serious doubt. If it is desirable in the interest of the debtor to extend the period of limitation for the recovery of debts, the benefit should be given to agriculturists everywhere, and indeed to debtors of all classes.

The provisions of the amended Code of Civil Procedure relating to insolvency will afford sensible relief

— and relief that was needed — to agricultural and other debtors in all parts of the country. The insolvency provisions in the present Bill go beyond the general law. I am not prepared to dissent from them on that account—for the circumstances have been shown to justify special remedies—but the provision respecting the delivery of property in lieu of cash is anomalous. It will not, I think, be acceptable to either party, nor does it appear called for.

With regard to section 35 of the Bill, I have only to observe that I can sce no reason why a fraudulent insolvent in the Dekkhan should be exposed to less penalties than a fraudulent debtor elsewhere.

My lord, there is one more point to which I wish to invite the Council's attention. Admitting, as I do, that the exigencies of the case require special legislation, I entertain a serious doubt whether the rules framed in the Bill should be enacted more than as a temporary measure. Perhaps the requirements of the case would be sufficiently met if the operation of the proposed law is limited to a certain number of years. Some of the most important provisions of the Bill relating to interest strongly resemble the laws against usury which for many years were prevalent in this country. I had some share in administering them. They were found ineffective; they encouraged fraud; they operated as a hardship upon the borrower,—and as such were repealed both in England and in this country. The revival of any rules of law which limit the rate of interest or empower courts to interfere in the terms of private contract, cannot be regarded by me as other than a retrograde step—a step which, if justified by extreme emergency, should at any rate not be allowed permanently to affect the law even in a small portion of the country.

My lord, I have ventured to offer these criticisms, not in any way pledging myself to oppose any of the provisions of the Bill, in whatever shape they may eventually come before the Council, but with a view to invite the attention of the Select Committee before which the Bill will be laid, to those provisions of which the expediency appears to me to be doubtful. So far as the Bill tends to relieve the Dekkhan *raiyats* from their present embarrassments, it will have my cordial support. The acerbity of feeling occasioned to creditors by the discharge of their debtors will be sensibly mitigated if the just ascertainment of their claims be secured to them. But should the provisions of the Bill go to deprive them of this privilege, and so far as such provisions tend to hinder the ordinary transactions of the people and render the recovery of debts incurred hereafter uncertain, I should be reluctant to support it.

My lord, I should indeed be grieved if, from what I have said, it should be understood I am not cognisant of the difficulties and hardships under which the agricultural classes of India labour. I have for many years felt a deep sympathy with the *raiyat*, and should look upon it as a great piece of good fortune to take part in the passing of any measures which would relieve him from the miseries which indebtedness brings upon him. But at the same time, I am convinced that no law can be framed which will do away with the necessity of borrowing, or, so long as the recovery of loans is uncertain and fraught with difficulty, put a stop to exorbitant rates of interest. An experience of thirty-five years, during which I had the honour of serving as a judicial officer of the Government, induces me to say that all rules which aim at regulating the rate of interest on private loans, or which place difficulties in the way of their recovery, far

from relieving, are injurious to the borrower, whose necessities compel him to evade the law by secret and collusive agreements of which the terms are more onerous because they cannot be enforced. The condition of the Indian *raiyats*, not only in the Dekkhan but in other parts of India, fully deserves consideration at the hands of the Government: perhaps in their pecuniary difficulties may be traced some of the causes which make famine so severe and oft-recurring a calamity. The question is undoubtedly momentous; and your Excellency's administration is to be congratulated upon having undertaken its solution. But, my lord, the solution, in my humble opinion, lies not in conferring anomalous privileges of protection against the demands of the money-lender, not in placing difficulties in the way of borrowing money, not in making the recovery of judgment-debts dilatory or uncertain, but in providing the agriculturists of India with facilities for borrowing money on moderate interest, and in making the recovery of such loans speedy and certain.

In bringing forward his measure on Compulsory Vaccination for the second reading, Syed Ahmed said :—

My lord, the Vaccination Bill, which I had the honour of introducing into the Council on the 30th of September last, has been published in the 'Gazette of India,' and also in the local Gazettes, in English as well as in the vernacular languages. The local governments have submitted their opinions and those of local officers as to the expediency of the proposed legislation. Some of the municipal committees and societies have com-

mented on the measure. All these opinions, remarks, and papers are now before the Council.

My lord, on the first occasion when I advocated in the Council the expediency of making vaccination compulsory by legislation, I said: "I have carefully considered the difficulties which exist in putting such a law into practice, and I am aware that there are some parts of India which have not yet reached the stage when the enforcement of such measures would be advisable. The proposed Bill will therefore not be generally compulsory. It is not meant to be applicable to those parts of India which possess local legislatures, and its operation will be confined to such municipalities and military cantonments in British India as the local governments in their discretion deem fit to place under the proposed law." I further remarked that the object of the proposed Bill was to provide a law to enable the local governments of those provinces which do not possess their own legislatures, to make vaccination compulsory in such places as they consider fit for the promulgation of such a law. I am glad to find that the opinions hitherto received from various quarters support my views; since some of the municipalities and cantonments are declared by the local authorities to be prepared to accept compulsory vaccination, while others are represented as less advanced, and not in such a state as to admit of such a law being safely enforced. The difference of opinions among the various local officers in regard to the expediency of rendering vaccination compulsory is due to the variety of local circumstances which I had in view when framing the Bill now before the Council.

My lord, the legislation which I have proposed meets the objections of those who oppose it and the wishes of those who support it, since one of the most essential

features of the Bill is that its adoption is permissive. If the Bill is referred to a Select Committee, I shall be glad to adopt any alterations which the Select Committee may consider necessary, in accordance with Dr Cunningham's suggestions, to restrict the power of the local governments in respect of enforcing the proposed law.

My lord, it has been said, as a reason against the passing of the Bill, that vaccination is gradually spreading, and that the prejudices of the people against it are giving way to the beneficial influence exercised by local officers. The statement, my lord, on which this argument is based, is no doubt correct; but I may be permitted to say that the circumstance, far from furnishing an argument against the Bill, strongly supports its policy. Even the greatest opponents of the proposed legislation do not maintain that the object in view is not desirable. The strongest argument against the proposed law is, that there are still many amongst the people of this country who look upon vaccination either as unnecessary or objectionable. But in a matter of this kind the discussion resolves itself into the simple question whether the indifference or opposition of a part of the community should be allowed to deprive the whole community of advantages which the truths of science and the conclusions of actual experience have made undeniable.

My lord, I am myself a native of India, brought up under the same social circumstances and prejudices as those of my countrymen whose voice is raised against the proposed legislation. And at my time of life, my lord, I hope I may confidently escape the imputation of arrogance in saying that I have lived long enough amongst my countrymen to have obtained a familiar

insight into the laws which regulate their feelings and prejudices. I can emphatically say that the hatred which once existed against vaccination is a thing of the past, at least in the more advanced parts of British India. The opposition to vaccination, wherever it exists, is due either to the manner in which some of the underlings of the department conduct themselves, or to defects of system. Such being my views, I have no hesitation in saying that, if the causes of the opposition are removed by introducing better organisation and more effective supervision, by providing facilities, and by obtaining the co-operation of influential native gentlemen, vaccination will become more popular every day. But this result cannot be achieved without a legislative measure such as I have ventured to propose.

The highest castes of Hindus have accepted vaccination. There is a memorial in favour of the Bill before the Council sent up by forty-eight of the most respectable Hindu citizens of the ancient city of Benares, a place which in the eyes of orthodox Hindus is still unsurpassed in sanctity and religious learning. To those forty-eight names I may be allowed to add that of Raja Shimbhu Narain Singh Bahadur, a gentleman of great influence and high position in that city, and a Brahmin by caste. In a communication addressed to me he has strongly supported the policy of the Bill, and has expressed his wish that it may pass into law. It is true, as has been urged by some of the opponents of the Bill, that there are still in India many temples consecrated to the worship of *Mátá-Debí*, the goddess of smallpox, and that large numbers of people resort to these places of worship. But I feel sure that vaccination has never been regarded as interfering with the worship of this goddess, or any of the ceremonies connected with

it. The parents of vaccinated children perform the ceremonies of worshipping *Mátá-Debí* without the smallest feeling that a resort to the prophylactic against the disease in any way interferes with their religion.

My lord, I must confess I was in no small degree surprised when I read the speech of the President of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, and the communication which he has made to the Council. He seems to think that the natives of India were not aware of the source from which the vaccine lymph was taken, and that Dr Cunningham's 'Sanitary Primer' and the Bill now before the Council have, for the first time, supplied the information to the people. On this statement he has based his argument that the people will consider vaccination as interfering with their caste prejudices.

My lord, I am not aware that the Government, in adopting its earliest measures to introduce vaccination, ever made a secret of the source from which the vaccine matter is drawn. I feel confident that it was never a secret to the people, nor ever regarded as doing injury to caste. On the contrary, inoculation was not unknown in India. It was called *chhopa*, while vaccination has ever since its introduction received the name of *gau-than-sitla*, which, literally translated, means cow-udder-small-pox. The name itself suggests the source from which the lymph was obtained, and there is therefore little foundation for the proposition that Dr Cunningham's 'Sanitary Primer' or the present Bill have, for the first time, enlightened the people upon the subject. I am in possession of two treatises upon the subject published by Dr Pearson in the Hindi and Urdu languages in 1867, and intended for public distribution, which furnish minute information as to the source from which the vaccine lymph is obtained.

I should have dwelt more upon this point had I not felt that a full answer to the objection is to be found in a sentence which his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab has recorded with regard to the Society's argument. His Honour observes :—

"There is one point which is not noticed by the Society, and which has a practical bearing on vaccination, —namely, that a child of the age at which vaccination is practised on it is not, according to Hindu law, liable to ceremonial impurity, and therefore, even though vaccine may be impure to Hindus, the child would not be made impure by it."

My lord, the practice of vaccination has gained footing in some native States also. I can speak of two Hindu States in the Panjab. The history of Patialla, written by its able minister, informs us that vaccination was introduced in the State in the Hindu year 1933, corresponding with the year 1876. The late Maharaja had his own son vaccinated, and all the young children of the minister's family were also vaccinated. I have trustworthy information that, in the State of Patialla, no less than 55,618 children were vaccinated in three years. Similarly, in the State of Kapurthala no less than 4394 children were vaccinated in one year.

My lord, I now come to another important subject connected with the Bill—namely, the prohibition of inoculation. The majority of opinions which have been received are in favour of prohibitive provisions in this respect. When one member of a family is inoculated, others are also obliged to undergo the operation as a protective measure; and the appearance of smallpox is its necessary consequence. The reasons for prohibiting inoculation make it all the more necessary that every measure should be adopted to make vaccination

prevalent; for the State should not deprive the people of one remedy without supplying facilities for adopting a better and a more efficacious substitute.

My lord, I do not wish to take up the time of the Council in dwelling upon the provisions of the Bill. They appear in the Bill itself, and will be fully considered, with reference to the valuable opinions that have been received, if the Bill is referred to a Select Committee. But I wish to mention the principles which have been prominent in my mind in framing the Bill. I have endeavoured to make its provisions as simple as possible, to provide facilities for their being carried out, to avoid everything likely to give offence to the feelings of the people, and lastly, to encourage, as far as possible, the co-operation of native gentlemen in giving effect to the provisions of the proposed law.

My lord, no one can hold stronger views than I do, that no measure relating to the welfare of the public should be adopted by the State without due regard to the feelings of those to whom the measure relates. Whatever my own personal opinions might have been, I should not have ventured to seek the passing of a legislative measure like the one now under consideration, if I had felt that it would raise the opposition of the masses of the people of India, or that it would involve evils which would outweigh the advantages which can be expected from it. But the tenderest regard to the prejudices of the people does not prohibit the proposed legislation. The British rule in India has, for its guiding principles, the alleviation of human suffering and the protection of the weak and the helpless. Those principles have abolished the sacrifice of human lives at the altar of superstition, and put an effective check upon female infanticide. Who

can deny that those evils were time-honoured institutions, and had become fixed habits of a portion of the population of India? Who can maintain that the State was not justified in adopting decisive measures to remove those evils? Who can maintain that the State in adopting those measures acted in opposition to the principles of toleration or humanity? And, my lord, I feel that in advocating the measure now before the Council, I am not asking the Legislature to act contrary to the principles upon which it has always acted. I am not asking the Legislature to interfere with the religious prejudices of the people. I am not seeking the abolition of any of their time-honoured customs. I am asking the Legislature to interfere in a matter which, to thousands of innocent and helpless children, is a matter of life and death. I feel that I am advocating the cause of humanity against the indifference of the majority, and the vague and unfounded prejudices of a limited section of the population. The ravages of smallpox are not now involved in uncertainty. They are terrible both in their extent and their regularity. An instalment of a hundred thousand human lives is paid every year to the malady; and, my lord, in view of this awful fact, I must confess that I find it difficult to conceive how any vague apprehensions of opposition, or the existence of unfounded prejudices, can have greater weight than the absolutely certain fact of the enormous loss of human life which the absence of a well-organised system of compulsory vaccination involves. The British rule, to whose guardianship the lives of millions are intrusted, has always felt itself called upon to adopt measures for preventing the loss of human life, and I feel that the legislation proposed by me, if sanctioned by the Legislature, would only be an addition to the

numerous instances of the policy of humanity which the British rule in India has always pursued.

My lord, I move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Messrs Stokes and Thompson, the Honourable Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore, and the Honourable Messrs Colvin and Grant, and the mover.

Whilst in Council, Syed Ahmed was examined as a witness by the Education Commission, of which he and his son Syed Mahmud were members. His examination was very voluminous, and his replies cover thirty-two printed pages. I shall give a brief *résumé* of his evidence. As regards the number of Government schools, he thinks that there is no necessity for an increase, but that the existing institutions are capable of affording instruction to a much larger number of pupils, and that, therefore, every available means should be adopted for improving their efficiency, and for making them more useful and popular. He does not think the present system of inspection adequate. The inspectors, whose circles comprise a vast area, do not, as a matter of course, find sufficient time for inspection, and have no means of acquiring an intimate acquaintance with the real state of the schools under them. It is exceedingly doubtful whether they would be able to recognise the students of a

certain school already inspected by them, should such students be again presented before them with the boys of some other school.

Syed Ahmed says that he had an opportunity of inspecting many schools when he was a member of the Educational Committee at Allygurh. He always found the registers of those schools which were situated at some distance from the city in a wretched state, while the attendance was never found to correspond with the number of students given on the rolls. He has occasionally had reason to doubt the correctness of school registers, and found that it was not unusual to enter names of mythical students in them. He once set out to inspect a village school which used to send regular reports of its working, and it appeared that a reasonable number of students were reading in it. But on reaching the village he was surprised to find that there was no school at all, that the place which was represented as the school building was no other than a shed for buffaloes,[1] and that the contents of the registers and reports were altogether fictitious. He thinks that the deputy inspectors and sub-deputy inspectors are generally too prone to make their reports show a greater number of students than ever in reality existed, in order to obtain credit for good

[1] See *ante*, p. 195, and correspondence with Sir William Muir, pp. 196-200.

work. He is of opinion that the standard of education fixed for vernacular schools is not popular, and certainly not suitable. The standard of literature taught in these schools is hardly sufficient to enable a student to acquire tolerable proficiency in subjects which are of use to him in his after-life. The degree of proficiency acquired in indigenous schools in this respect far surpasses that afforded by these schools. The indigenous schools in the North-Western Provinces, the Panjab, and Oudh, are of four classes: 1st, Private schools, in which private individuals engage a teacher for their children, who are often joined by those of his relatives and neighbours, on payment of a small fee to the teacher; 2d, Self-supporting schools, got up by a teacher of some reputation, who enjoys the confidence of the people, establishes himself in some particular quarter of the town, and lives by the fees paid by the boys; 3d, Schools of private individuals, who devote themselves in offering gratuitous instruction to people for the public benefit; 4th, Schools established by private funds or charitable endowments, the students being gratuitously taught by a number of teachers, and some provision also being sometimes made for their maintenance. He thinks the regular study of arithmetic should, in vernacular primary schools, be supplemented by the

indigenous method (*gur*), which is more practical. History ought also to be more thoroughly taught. As regards village schools, he thinks that they would be made more useful and popular by—1st, Reforming the courses of study, and raising the standard of literature; 2d, By appointing such persons to be teachers as are popular, and possess the confidence of the people; 3d, By fixing their salaries on a standard sufficient to make them appreciate their appointment; 4th, By securing the co-operation of respectable men in each division of a district in the cause of education. Syed Ahmed was strongly of opinion that the non-association of respectable natives in the work of education has been a great drawback and a political mistake. This was remedied, on Syed Ahmed's representation, many years ago, when native gentlemen were made members of the District Educational Committees.

In 1872, Syed Ahmed, in a note on education, wrote: "It is much to be regretted, however, that the native members of the said committees, when they sit with Europeans and the educational authorities in the same room, look more like thieves who have entered a gentleman's house for theft, than like bold advocates of an important cause. They are, on the other hand, looked upon by their European fellow-members as men of the

opposite party, to defeat whom is deemed by the educational authorities, as well as by other European members, as their right, established by the laws of nature. . . . They are, in fact, about as useful as would be the same number of wax figures taken from Madame Tussaud's exhibition."

As Syed Ahmed incorporated this opinion in his evidence before the Education Commission, the members of the same belonging to the Educational Department must have been rather amused when they heard it. To remedy existing defects, Syed Ahmed would make the collector of each district, head of the vernacular instruction within his collectorate; he would abolish the inspectors and deputy inspectors of schools, substituting for the latter a native deputy collector in each district as an assistant to the collector, the most influential men of the district to be members of the committee. The deputy collector would, under this system, inspect personally at least four times a-year all the vernacular schools in his district; while the subdivisional (*perganah*) visitor would inspect his schools at least four times a-month, and report the results of each inspection to the committee. The other revenue officers would visit the schools when on tour. Each subdivision should have its educational committee, composed of respectable residents, with the Tahsildar for

its president; the entire management of the district schools—*i.e.*, increase or reduction in their number, selection of proper places for their establishment, &c., would rest with the district committee; and the income of these schools, derived from all sources, would be at its disposal, the committee to submit its budgets regularly to the Director of Public Instruction. English schools Syed Ahmed would not put under these committees, as he thinks that it would be prejudicial to those schools. As regards English education being essentially requisite for the interests of the people, Syed Ahmed in his evidence said:—

About thirty years have now elapsed since the despatch of 1854. During this period the condition of India has undergone a considerable change. Railways have united distant provinces, and have facilitated intercourse to a great extent. Telegraphic lines have been extended all over the country, and have provided facilities for distant persons to talk with one another as if they were in the same room. These very things have infused a new life into commercial business, and have given a fresh impulse to every sort of enterprise.

In 1854, when the above-named despatch was written, India was certainly in a condition which might justify our thinking that the acquisition of knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars of the country would be enough to meet our immediate wants. But now such is not the case. Vernacular education is no more regarded as sufficient for our daily affairs of life. It is only of use to us in our private and domestic affairs,

and no higher degree of proficiency than what is acquired in primary and middle vernacular schools is requisite for that purpose; nor is more wanted by the country. It is English education which is urgently needed by the country, and by the people in their daily life. It will be useless to realise the truth of what I have said by any theoretical argument when we practically find so many proofs of it every day. We see that an ordinary shopkeeper who is neither himself acquainted with English, nor has any English-knowing person in his employment, feels it a serious hindrance in the progress of his business. Even the itinerant pedlars and *boxwalas*, who go from door to door selling their articles, keenly feel the necessity of knowing at least the English names of their commodities, and of being able to tell their prices in English. A gentleman who visits a merchant's or a chemist's shop to make necessary purchases, but is neither himself acquainted with English, nor is accompanied by a person knowing that language feels his position as one of real perplexity. In consequence of the facilities afforded for travelling, respectable men are often under the necessity of sending and receiving telegraphic messages, and their ignorance of English proves a serious hardship to them. A few months ago a respectable native gentleman sent his wife by railway from one station to another, telegraphing to a relation of his at the latter station to be present at the railway station with a conveyance for the lady, who was of course a *pardah-nashin*. The message reached him in time, but he was unhappily not acquainted with English. He was yet in search of an English-knowing person who might explain to him the import of the communication, when the train reached the station, and the lady was necessarily compelled to leave the carriage

and to wait outside. The state of affairs has therefore been so altered during the last thirty years, that a necessity for English education is as much felt as that for a vernacular one. The standard of matriculation would, in my opinion, answer the purposes above described. In these days the name of *popular education* can, in fact, most appropriately be applied to this very standard of English education. It is high time that Government as well as the people should exert themselves to their utmost in extending this *popular education*, if I may be allowed so to call it. I trust that the observations I have made will not be construed into any desire on my part to suppress high education, or that I do not attach much importance to it. I shall show shortly how essentially necessary it is for the country.

As regards the diffusion of Western arts and sciences through vernacular translations, &c., he said :—

In vernacular and English primary and middle schools, the object of which is to impart instruction up to that standard only, and not to prepare scholars for a higher standard of education, the interests of the country will no doubt be furthered by teaching the Western sciences to the standard laid down for those institutions in vernacular. But in English elementary schools, which have been established with the object of serving as a stepping-stone for higher education, the tuition of European sciences through the medium of the vernacular is calculated to ruin the cause of education.

I confess I am the person who had first entertained the idea that the acquisition of the knowledge of European sciences through the medium of the vernacular

would be more beneficial to the country. I am the person who had found fault with Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835 for exposing the defects of oriental learning, and recommending the study of Western science and literature, and had failed to consider whether the introduction of European sciences by means of the vernaculars would bring any advantage to the native community.

I did not confine my opinion to theory alone, but tried to put it into practice. I discussed the matter at various meetings, wrote several pamphlets and articles on the subject, and sent memorials to local and supreme Governments. A Society, known by the name of "The Scientific Society, Allygurh," was established for the very purpose, and it translated several scientific and historical works from the English language into the vernacular. But I could not help acknowledging the fallacy of my opinion at last. I was forced to accept the truth of what an eminent liberal statesman has said, that "what the Indian of our day wanted, whether he was Hindu or Mohammedan, was some insight into the literature and science which were the life of his own time, and of the vigorous race which were the representative of all knowledge and all power to him." I felt the soundness and sincerity of the policy adopted by Lord William Bentinck when he declared that "the great object of the Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India."

With reference to the question whether Government should support primary and secondary education, he said :—

As my personal opinion on this point is at variance

with the public feeling, I may be allowed to give a sketch of both the views.

I am personally of opinion that the duty of Government, in relation to public instruction, is not to provide education to the people, but to aid the people in procuring it for themselves. But the public feeling seems to differ widely from this view. The people base their argument on the fact that in India all matters affecting the public weal have always rested with Government. They see no reason why the education of the people, which is also a matter of public weal, should not rest with Government. After a full consideration of the question in all its bearings, I have come to the conclusion that the native public cannot obtain suitable education unless the people take the entire management of their education into their own hands, and that it is not possible for Government to adopt a system of education which may answer all purposes and satisfy the special wants of the various sections of the population. It would therefore be more beneficial to the country if Government should leave the entire management of their education to the people, and withdraw its own interference. The public opinion, as I have just said, is not in favour of this view. They say that the time has not yet arrived which may warrant such withdrawal on the part of Government. A very able and intelligent native gentleman, for whom I entertain sincere respect, said to me some time ago that the idea that we should ourselves procure our education was an entire mistake; that the use of the word *ourselves* in any national sense, with reference to the people of India, was out of place. For he said that no nation could undertake any great work without the co-operation of all classes, high and low, whether in point of wealth or political and admin-

istrative power. He added that the higher order of political and administrative power in India was held by Government and its European officers, and that those who benefited most by commerce in India were also Europeans; and therefore they formed in reality the most important section of the Indian population. He said that whenever these officers had been requested to give some pecuniary aid in the establishment of a college or school in this country for the benefit of the natives, they had generally held aloof, as if they had no concern with the thing at all.

Apropos of this, I may be allowed to relate an incident which has happened to myself. At the time when the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was established at Allygurh, I asked a European gentleman, holding a high office under Government, to grant some pecuniary aid to the institution. He replied that he was not bound to help us in the matter, that the institution was a child of ours and not his, and that he would rather be inclined to spurn it than to hug it with paternal affection.

To do justice to public opinion, I confess it is not an easy matter for us to say that people ought to bear the burden of their education themselves. If we but consider the present state of India, we shall be forced to acknowledge that there are innumerable difficulties which threaten any such attempt on the part of the people with complete failure.

Interrogated by his son, Syed Mahmud, as to whether religious prejudices alone have kept Mohammedans aloof from English education, or whether anything in their socio-political traditions has had the same effect, he replied :—

In my 23d answer I have only touched upon the main cause. If all the causes to which the failure of the Mohammedans to avail themselves of the benefits of English education to an adequate extent is due were noticed, it would become a lengthy detail. It may be briefly stated that the causes which have kept the Mohammedans aloof from English education may be traced to four sources,—to their political traditions, social customs, religious beliefs, and poverty. An insight into the political causes can be obtained by studying the history of the last two centuries, and especially by studying the well-known work written by the Honourable the President of the Commission, and named 'Our Indian Mussulmans.' Briefly, I may say that the Mohammedan public was not opposed to the establishment of British rule in India, nor did the advent of British rule cause any political discontent among that people. In those days of anarchy and oppression, when the country was in want of a paramount power, the establishment of British supremacy was cordially welcomed by the whole native community; and the Mohammedans also viewed this political change with feelings of satisfaction. But the subordinate political change which this transition naturally involved as a consequence, and which proved a great and unexpected blow to the condition of the Mohammedans, engendered in them a feeling of aversion against the British, and against all things relating to the British nation. For the same reason they conceived an aversion for the English language, and for the sciences that were presented to them through the medium of that language. But this aversion is now declining in the same degree in which education is spreading among Mohammedans.

The Mohammedans were proud of their socio-political position, and their keeping aloof from English education may in some measure be ascribed to the fact that the Government colleges and schools included among their pupils some of those whom the Mohammedans, with an undue pride and unreasonable self-conceit and vanity, regarded with social contempt; and under this vain impression they did not think it worth their while to associate with persons whom they considered inferior to themselves in social position. The same vanity, self-conceit, and prejudice of the Mohammedans led them to attach an undue importance to their own literature, metaphysics, philosophy, and logic; and in the same spirit they regarded the English literature and modern sciences as quite worthless, and productive of no mental and moral good. They did not tolerate those persons being called learned men who had acquired a respectable knowledge of European literature or science. They could never be brought to admit that sound and useful learning existed in any language except Arabic and Persian. They had given a peculiar form to moral philosophy, and had based it on religious principles, which they believed to be infallible; and this circumstance had dispensed, as they thought, with the necessity of European science and literature. I still remember the days when, in respectable families, the study of English, with the object of obtaining a post in Government service or of securing any other lucrative employment, was considered highly discreditable. The prejudice has now, however, much slackened.

The religious aspect of the question I have already described. The poverty of the Mohammedan community is only too obvious to require any comment. I am, however, of opinion that the above-mentioned

socio-political causes, though still extant, have been mitigated to a considerable extent, and the Mohammedans are gradually freeing themselves of old prejudices, and taking to the study of English literature and science.

In re the absence of sympathy among European officials towards native endeavours for establishing educational institutions, he replied :—

I agree in the views of my friend which I have quoted, and have therefore given in my 31st answer an example of what personally happened to me. At the same time it is my opinion and belief that the Government and its high statesmen cordially desire our welfare and feel sympathy with us. But the majority of those subordinate European officers who have the administration in the Mofussil in their hands, are careless of, and indifferent to, our education and enlightenment. There are, no doubt, some of them who go out of their way to show sympathy to us, and take a share in our endeavours by helping us in our work both by money and by other means. Towards such English officers we naturally feel gratitude from the bottom of our hearts. But there are also some European officers, though they are few, who strongly feel that the spread of education and enlightenment among natives, and especially among the Mussulmans, is contrary to political expediency for the British rule. This class of men dislike natives educated in English, and regard them with anger and jealousy. Similarly, some officers of the Educational Department used to view the establishment of independent educational institutions with a jealous eye. But I am thankful to say that, at least in my part of the country, such

is not the case at present. I have not made these remarks with reference to my experience in any particular part of my life, but generally; and I have based them on my experience ever since I first began to take an interest in the subject of education among my countrymen. The causes of the circumstances I have described are numerous, and some of them neither pleasant nor obvious. But I may briefly state that the great majority of English officers believe that their duty is to do only their official work, and that they are not called upon to take any trouble about other matters connected with the needs of the country. They do not come into social relations with natives, and therefore they are seldom able to know the real and inner wants and needs of the native population. Consequently, neither have they any occasion to become acquainted with the requirements of natives, nor to feel sympathy with them. Thus, speaking generally, no real sympathy exists between European officers and the natives—I mean such sympathy as exists between two friends. I think this very unfortunate, at least for my countrymen; but I wish to say plainly that the blame does not rest entirely with either the English officers or the natives. I firmly believe that as soon as sincere friendly sympathy is established between Englishmen and natives, schools and even colleges will begin to be established all over the country, and will cost Government no more than the grant-in-aid rules could easily allow. But I am sorry to confess that I do not think that much improvement in this respect can be expected for some years to come.

As regards the education of Mohammedan girls, he said:—

Before proceeding to answer the question, I beg leave

to say that the general idea that Mohammedan ladies of respectable families are quite ignorant is an entire mistake. A sort of indigenous education of a moderate degree prevails among them, and they study religious and moral books in Urdu and Persian, and in some instances in Arabic. Among my own relations there are ladies who can speak and understand Arabic very fairly, can read and teach Persian books on morality, and can write letters in Persian, and compose verses in their own language. But this is not a new or a rare thing. I myself read elementary Persian books with my mother, and received from her other moral and instructive lessons in my early youth, which are still fresh in my memory. In families of the better classes, there have been ladies in comparatively recent times who possessed a high degree of ability. I remember a lady who belonged to the family of the famous Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, and who possessed a considerable amount of learning in Arabic books of religion, and used to preach religious and moral doctrines among her sex like a qualified and competent preacher. The poverty of the Mohammedans has been the chief cause of the decline of female education among them. It is still a custom among the well-to-do and respectable families of Mohammedans to employ tutoresses (*Ustanis* or *Mullanis*) to get their girls instructed in the Holy Koran, and in elementary theological books in the Urdu language. Sometimes a father or a brother, or some other near kinsman, teaches them to write letters in Urdu, and occasionally imparts to them instruction in Persian books. To qualify them to read and write telegraphic messages, some boys have taught English to their sisters sufficient for the purpose; and I know of two girls who can even write letters in English. I admit, however.

that the general state of female education among Mohammedans is at present far from satisfactory; but at the same time I am of opinion that Government cannot adopt any practical measure by which the respectable Mohammedans may be induced to send their daughters to Government schools for education. Nor can Government bring into existence a school on which the parents and guardians of girls may place perfect reliance. I cannot blame the Mohammedans for this disinclination towards Government girls' schools, and I believe that even the greatest admirer of female education among European gentlemen will not impute blame to the Mohammedans if he is only acquainted with the state of those schools in this country. I have also seen a few of the girls' schools in England. Were these institutions for a moment supposed to be just like those in India in every respect, would any English gentleman like to send his daughters for education to them? Certainly not. I am therefore decidedly of opinion that the efforts hitherto made by Government to provide education to Mohammedan girls have all been in vain, and have completely failed to produce any effect whatever upon the respectable families of the Mohammedans. Nor have the lower classes derived any benefit from them. The question of female education much resembles the question of the oriental philosopher who asked whether the egg or the hen was first created. Those who hold that women should be educated and civilised prior to men are greatly mistaken. The fact is, that no satisfactory education can be provided for Mohammedan females until a large number of Mohammedan males receive a sound education. The present state of education among Mohammedan females is, in my opinion, enough for domestic happiness, considering the present social and

economical condition of the life of the Mohammedans in India. What the Government at present ought to do, is to concentrate its efforts in adopting measures for the education and enlightenment of Mohammedan boys. When the present generation of Mohammedan men is well educated and enlightened, the circumstance will necessarily have a powerful though indirect effect on the enlightenment of Mohammedan women, for enlightened fathers, brothers, and husbands will naturally be most anxious to educate their female relations. There are even at this time many significant indications of this desire on the part of educated men, a few instances of which I have already given. Any endeavours on the part of Government to introduce female education among Mohammedans will, under the present social circumstances, prove a complete failure so far as respectable families are concerned, and, in my humble opinion, will probably produce mischievous results, and be a waste of money and energy.

In May 1882, Sir Salar Jang paid Syed Ahmed a visit, and inspected the college, of which he was one of the visitors. He was received with every honour, and was very much pleased with what he saw. He made Syed Ahmed promise to pay him a visit at Hyderabad, and in September of the same year Syed Ahmed fulfilled his promise, staying with the minister for a month. During this time he had many long and important conversations with Sir Salar Jang, visited Bolarum with him, and had a big dinner given him by his host. Many of the nobles wished to entertain

him at dinner, but he invariably begged them to give him the money that the dinners would cost, as donations to his college fund. They did so, and he carried off with him to Allygurh Rs. 30,000! He is now (February 1885) meditating another visit to Hyderabad.

In the August of 1882, the Hon. W. W. Hunter and the Education Commission held their first session in the North-Western Provinces at Allygurh. At a great meeting held in the college, in reply to the addresses of the municipality, the college, and of fourteen societies and public bodies in these provinces, the Hon. W. W. Hunter, the President of the Commission, Syed Ahmed's old literary antagonist, in the course of his speech said:—

Gentlemen, it is because this college in which we are now assembled forms the greatest and noblest effort ever made in India for the advancement of Mohammedan education, that the Commission determined to hold its first session for the North-Western Provinces at Allygurh. We hope that our presence here will be taken as our public tribute of admiration to this splendid example of self-help. A few more such examples of self-help, and there would be no need of Education Commissions in India. The other night I was taken to see the two historical monuments of Allygurh. We drove out to the solitary place where the silent moat and the deserted ramparts of Du Perron's fort coil their long length, in angular twists, across the plain. Then we visited the

monument erected to the brave soldiers who fell in 1803. The monument stands by itself, remote from the habitations of men, with high jungle-grass around it half choking the little path which leads to its entrance. Nothing alive comes near to the spot, save the unsympathetic rush of the railway train; the only sound of human activity is the shriek of the engine-whistle. On our way home, as we passed the Mohammedan college, I could not help thinking what a much nobler memorial of our age is this splendid pile of buildings in which we are now assembled. Those solitary relics out on the plain, with their pathetic narratives of ambition, endurance, and gallant effort, form the records of a time when, throughout the length and breadth of India, race hated race, and when each man's hand was raised against his neighbour. You, gentlemen, who have built this college, will bequeath a far nobler monument to posterity. You will leave behind you a magnificent memorial not of the discord, but of the reconciliation of races; a monument of beneficent energy, not of destructive force; and one which, unlike those poor erections of stone and earth which now lie so apart from the interests and the habitations of men, will continue for ever a centre of the highest human efforts, vocal with young voices, and alive with the hopes and aspirations of young hearts. . . .

The two great problems of Mohammedan education are: first, how, by endowments, to provide the higher instruction at rates which the Mohammedan community can afford to pay; second, how to combine the secular with the religious elements in the instruction given. Gentlemen, this college at Allygurh solves both these difficult problems. It not only provides an education for the Mohammedans of the North-Western Provinces,

but it stands forth as an example to all India, of a Mohammedan institution which effectively combines the secular with the religious aspects of education; and which, while recognising the special spiritual needs of the Mohammedan youth, bases its teaching on the truths of Western science, and is in tone and tendency thoroughly loyal to our Queen.

This is a noble work for a mortal to have done upon earth. And here beside me we see the brave and liberal-hearted man who, by twenty years of patient effort, has accomplished it. I believe that very shortly after the country had passed to the Crown, when men were still embittered by the bleeding memories of the catastrophe which preceded the transfer, it entered into the heart of our friend, the Honourable Syed Ahmed, to commence this great work of conciliation. During the first ten years, he bore with many disappointments, and made little visible progress with his self-assigned task. He had to give up some of his own views, to make fresh departures, to submit in silence to indifference and disapproval, to the cooling of old friends, and to the injurious babble of ignorant enemies. But he never for a moment lost heart. Slowly but surely his cause advanced. Men believed in him, for he believed in his work.

In 1870 a public Committee was formed, under his auspices, for the advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India. The two objects of this Committee were: first, to ascertain the causes which prevented the Mohammedans from adequately availing themselves of the State schools; second, to provide means by which the Mohammedans might be reconciled to a secular education that would tend to their advancement in life, and render them loyal subjects to their Sovereign.

This magnificent pile of buildings, with its staff of learned professors, and its crowded class-rooms of boys from every province of India, is the result. Its primary aim was to procure the acceptance of European science and literature as the basis of Mohammedan education. It has accomplished this by scrupulously providing for the religious offices of the pious Mohammedan youth. In going round the college, I was struck by the sight of the Shia and Sunni praying-places side by side. Here, for the first time in the history of India, the Shia from Hyderabad in the south, and the Sunni from Delhi and the farthest limits of Bengal, come together for the common purpose of education, live together, study together, play together, and pray peacefully a little apart.

At the same time the Mohammedan founders of this strictly Mohammedan institution have thrown open their doors to the youth of all races and creeds. Among the 259 students, I find 57 Hindus, or nearly one-fourth of the whole. Christian and Parsi lads have also received a liberal education within its walls. This liberality of mind pervades not only its rules and its teaching, but the whole life of the place. Each boy has his own set of rooms, consisting of a verandah, study, bedroom, and bath-room. He has thus the great advantage of community with his fellows in his outdoor life, and not the less important advantage of quiet and retirement in his private hours. The school-life and sports of the boys are modelled on the liberal pattern of the English public schools; and they are producing a class of young men who, I believe, will in many respects prove themselves not unworthy of their originals.

This excellent education, this truly liberal life, are given at a cost which contrasts with the charges of

our English public schools. The house payments for board and lodging vary from Rs. 120 to Rs. 228 a-year; and the whole charges for board, lodging, tuition, medical fee, and the cricket club, from Rs. 190 to Rs. 308, or, say, from £16 to £25 sterling per annum. I think this is a proof of what native management can effect in the economical administration of a large public school. The Allygurh College has to import an English principal, and at least one European professor, and to pay them at the high rate of European labour current in this country. Yet it offers an education and a school-life, modelled on the English public-school pattern, at about one-tenth of what practically costs an English boy to live at an English public school.

In going over the rooms of the students, I could not help being charmed with the way in which they were fitted up. Each youth furnishes his chambers after his own taste, and there is the same individuality about each that one finds in an Eton boy's room. Pictures of her Majesty and the Prince of Wales, photographs of comrades, medieval plans of Jerusalem and Mecca, Webster's Dictionary, Lemprière, Smith's books of reference, and all the familiar guides of our own youth, are mingled with objects of oriental art and luxury. The teaching staff is both numerous and efficient. An English principal and professor of university reputation direct the labours of a body of eminent orientalists and teachers, of whom any seat of learning might feel proud. The building itself will, when complete, bear comparison with any educational institution in the world; and in extent and magnificence of proportion, more than rivals the venerable piles at Oxford or Cambridge.

How has this great work been accomplished? In the first place, there was one man who placed a noble end

before him, and who was willing to spend his life and his substance on its attainment. He has preserved, throughout the long years since its commencement, an unshaken belief that the work ought to be done. Belief begets belief. The Honourable Syed Ahmed believed in his work; and the other benefactors of this college, both native and European, have given their subscriptions because they believed in Syed Ahmed. The Government has more tardily, but in the end not less munificently, aided in the enterprise, because the Government has also found good cause to believe in Syed Ahmed. This college is a noble example to all India, not only of self-help, but of the power which an unswerving belief in a good cause exercises on the minds of men.

But, gentlemen, although the work has prospered greatly, much still remains to be done. Go over the grounds, and see for yourselves the magnificent lines on which its plan is laid out. About 50,000 rupees have been subscribed, but 250,000 rupees will be required for its completion and endowment. I sincerely hope that the hearts of many men will be moved to take part in this good work. There come, to each one of us, seasons in our life when our natures are softened by sorrow for the death of some dear friend or relative, and when we desire to raise a memorial to those whom we have loved and lost. But why should the Mohammedan pile empty mausoleums over his dead, or the Christian crowd his churchyards with useless monuments, when a work such as this stands incomplete? Every hundred rupees which are subscribed to this building are given for the lasting good of mankind. For less than 2000 rupees, each benefactor may erect a handsome set of chambers in the great quadrangle, which shall bear his name, or any other name which he pleases to place upon it.

Men seek immortality in many ways. Some write books, others climb to high official rank, others seek the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth. But it has always seemed to me that the most enviable fame on earth is that of the founder of a great seat of learning. One of the best-remembered incidents in an English public-school boy's life is Founder's Day. It was the great festival of the school-year, when boys and masters held holiday, to celebrate by speeches or dramas, and manly sports, and hospitality to those from without, and good cheer to those within, the day set apart in honour of the founder of the school. As time rolls on, I hope that this great college will hold a similar high festival. I hope that centuries after our generation, with its cares and hopes and ambitions, has passed away, the memory of Syed Ahmed will be honoured afresh each year, as the pious founder of the noblest Mohammedan seat of learning which this age has bequeathed to posterity.

In March 1883, my old friend Mr Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., late B.C.S., advocated the cause of native Volunteers in India, and in doing so stated that in the Mutiny he had a brigade of infantry, cavalry, and artillery,—*i.e.*, the Etawah Yeomanry Levy,—all volunteers. Having been the Adjutant of that Levy during 1858-59, I addressed the following letter to the editor of the 'Pioneer,' entitled, "What is a Native Volunteer?":—

SIR,—In your issue of Monday, Mr Hume, after explaining how his party of refugees were escorted from Etawah to Fattehabad by native Volunteers (in

1857), and thence to Agra by European Volunteers, concludes his letter thus: "I had a brigade of infantry, cavalry, and artillery that in many actions proved their fidelity; and if, amongst other things, their conduct was considered sufficiently distinguished to merit, on two separate occasions, a whole Gazette to themselves, I beg that it may not be forgotten that they were all native Volunteers." I would venture to ask from my friend Mr Hume a definition of the word "Volunteer." The generally accepted one is that a Volunteer is a man who gives his services to his country without being paid for doing so. Mr Hume's brigade of cavalry, infantry, and artillery did, as no one knows better than myself, right good service during 1858 and 1859; but as each individual was paid for his services just like the rest of our native army, I fail to see how they could have been Volunteers. Volunteer for service they certainly did, but so do all our soldiers. Will Mr Hume maintain that the men of our native army are all Volunteers? If Mr Hume's argument for the enrolment of native Volunteers be pushed to its logical conclusion, it can only mean that the cases of Volunteers at home and native Volunteers in India are to be considered as identical. Anomalies are not now permitted. Now, out of a population of, say, 30,000,000 in England and Scotland, say 300,000 are Volunteers. India has a population of 240,000,000; therefore, according to Mr Hume's argument, we ought out here to have a native Volunteer army of say 3,000,000 of men, all officered by natives, and each battalion with its complement of rifles and ammunition under its entire control. There would not be many Europeans in the country if Mr Hume's advocacy of native Volunteers were successful.

This brought Syed Ahmed down upon me, and in a letter which he wrote asking me to visit him, as I was about to pass through Allygurh *en route* to Nepaul tiger-shooting, he said :—

I have perused your reply to Mr Hume's letter advocating the Volunteering of the natives of India. In not allowing the natives to become Volunteers, the Government mean to say that they do not trust the natives of India. Its consequence should be judged (*sic*) from the saying, "If you want us to trust you, you should also trust us." There yet exists a wide gulf between Europeans and the natives of India, and unless it be filled up, nothing can secure and improve the prosperity of the country.

Now I at once grant that, if anomalies are to be permitted, we should do well to start *corps d'élite* of native Volunteers. At home every man can become a Volunteer, and is at once provided with uniform, rifle, and ammunition. This could not, for obvious reasons, be the case out here; and the establishment of native *corps d'élite* of Volunteers would therefore, regarded from the English point of view, be an anomaly. What I would advocate would be the selection, by the local authorities in all large stations in India, of a certain number of picked native Volunteers—men of good family, well known for their loyalty—to be placed under the command of the officer commanding the European Volunteers. I would

let them select their own company officers; and once started, I would also permit them to select their own recruits as vacancies occurred. I throw out the suggestion for what it is worth.

On the 22d January 1884, Syed Ahmed and party of three friends left Allygurh to pay a visit to the Panjab. On the 23d they arrived at Ludhiana, and were received by a large crowd of Mohammedan gentlemen at the station—many also having gone out several stations to meet them. On Syed Ahmed stepping out of the train, Kadir Bakhsh, extra-Assistant-Commissioner of Ludhiana, put a garland of flowers round his neck, and many bouquets were given him, those who could not get near enough to present them throwing their bouquets to him. The crowd was so great—over 800 people being on the platform—that there was some difficulty in getting into the carriages. Syed Ahmed and party drove to the house of Nawab Ally Mahomed Khan Bahadur of Jhajjer, which was furnished in European fashion. The house was thronged all day with visitors anxious to get Syed Ahmed's opinions on points upon which he was at variance with other Mohammedans. Conversations were long and very animated. In the afternoon he gave a lecture in the Town-hall, which was so crowded that there was not even standing-room

in the verandahs. Syed Ahmed's lecture and speeches after it were so impressive that many of the audience wept. Rs. 1584 were presented to him in aid of his college. Several powerful speeches in his praise were made by leading Mohammedans of Ludhiana, and the meeting did not break up till midnight.

The writer of the account of the trip, Syed Ikbal Ally, of which what I write is a very brief and condensed translation—the account being in Urdu, and occupying two hundred and eighty-one pages—says: "When I heard these Panjabi Mohammedans holding forth eloquently in the Panjabi accent as to the necessity of sympathy with us and the elevation of our race, I was greatly affected and charmed, as this was the first time I had ever heard educated Panjabis speak. When they alluded to Syed Ahmed's age and exhorted their hearers to strive for the welfare of our race, the effect on the audience was extraordinary, many having their eyes full of tears and many weeping outright. From this day forth there was great liberality and favour shown to Syed Ahmed." Numbers of young and well-educated Mohammedans told him of their religious doubts, and he, by his arguments, swept their doubts away. Whilst at Ludhiana, a deputation of the "Islamic Society" of Jallander, composed of four of the

principal Mohammedans of that place, came over to meet him, and early on the 24th Syed Ahmed and party proceeded to Jallander, a very large and sympathetic assemblage being present at the railway station to see him off. The deputation accompanied him. On arriving at the Jallander station there was a large assemblage to meet Syed Ahmed, and he was loudly cheered as he got out of his carriage. He thanked them warmly for his reception, and received a large number of bouquets. The party drove off to see the Town-hall, in which it had been decided that Syed Ahmed should deliver a speech; but a change had been made, and it had been decided to have it at the house of his host Kunr Harnam Sing of Ahluwala. Here he had many visitors, including Colonel Young, the Commissioner, Sirdar Bikrma Sing, C.S.I., and the Rev. Messrs Wikoff and Golak Nath.

By 4 P.M. thousands of people had assembled in and around the tent in which he was to address them, and there was consequently a good deal of confusion. An address from the Islamic Society welcoming Syed Ahmed to Jallander was read, but was scarcely audible owing to the noise going on. The same fate overtook the reading of the English translation of the address. An address was then presented to him from the students of the High School, which even Syed Ahmed could

scarcely hear. He replied to all of these in a long and eloquent speech, which was greatly applauded. On the 25th he left for Amritser, being seen off by numerous friends. Several stations out of Amritser, at Kerterpur, he was met by a number of leading Mohammedans of Amritser. At the station the sum of Rs. 8.9.0 was presented to him for his college by one Ramchander, a Hindu landowner of Kerterpur, who had raised this amount amongst the scholars of the village school, who had subscribed one or two annas each! Syed Ahmed gratefully accepted this small contribution, and told Ramchander that he felt it more than the thousands presented to the college by wealthy donors. At Amritser the school students wanted to pull his carriage from the railway station to his residence, but Syed Ahmed declined the honour with thanks. There was an enormous crowd waiting to welcome him. There had been a correspondence with the Islamic Society here as to what was to be done. That body wished to entertain Syed Ahmed, but Syed Ahmed was desirous that the money that this would cost should be placed instead at his disposal for the college. The Society triumphed, by getting Syed Ahmed to take the cost of the entertainment and the entertainment as well! He was entertained at the

Town-hall at an evening party, which was crowded with natives and Europeans. On the 26th he distributed the prizes at the Mohammedan School, being loudly cheered by the students on his entrance. In the evening he addressed a large assemblage of Mohammedans at the Town-hall, after receiving an address from the Islamic Society. The cheering at the close was enthusiastic. Rs. 1500 were presented to him for the college, and Syed Ahmed, after thanking them warmly, said that with this money he would build boarding-quarters, and have inscribed thereon that they had been built with money presented by the Islamic Society and the residents of Amritser. On the 27th he left for Gurdaspur, being escorted to the station, as usual, by a number of friends. He was received at the Gurdaspur station with great cheering and the inevitable address, to which he replied in suitable terms. He then drove to the house of his friend Sirdar Mahomed Hyat Khan Bahadur, C.S.I. At 4 P.M. he delivered a speech at the school,—mottoes such as "Welcome to the Syed," "Knowledge is power," &c., being amongst the decorations. On the 28th there was a big dinner of European and native gentlemen at his host's house. After dinner an address from the women of the Panjab was presented to Syed Ahmed. His host's wife had

formed a committee in his honour in recognition of what he had done for his race, and had got up a separate subscription for him of Rs. 327. Hyat Mahomed Khan then presented the address and the money, his little girl, who was to have presented them, having fallen asleep! Syed Ahmed made a suitable reply, and said that he would send a copy of it to each of the lady subscribers. He did so before reaching Lahore. His host then presented him with a note for Rs. 1000, and promised Rs. 500 more; and a sum of Rs. 819.4.0 was also presented to him from the residents of Gurdaspur. Syed Ahmed thanked Mahomed Hyat Khan and the residents most warmly, and told his host that his donation would go towards building boarding-quarters which should have on them an inscription in honour of his father. There was an evening-party afterwards, which was largely attended by Hindus. Mohammedans, and Europeans.

On the 29th he left for Amritser—the station being crowded with friends who had come to see him off. In the afternoon he gave a lecture in the Amritser Town-hall. On the 30th he left for Lahore, where the railway station presented an animated appearance, being densely packed from end to end. A programme of the details of his visit had been printed and circu-

lated. Red cloth was laid down for him to pass to his carriage. He was received with great cheering and many bouquets. The editor of the native paper, 'Friend of India,' had printed and distributed a number of copies of his paper containing a portrait and an account of Syed Ahmed's works. The children of the Mohammedan schools cheered him lustily. Great crowds were in the streets, and he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The house of the Raja of Kapurtalla was placed at his disposal during his stay. From early morning to 11 P.M. hosts of admiring visitors came to see him. A large deputation of Hindus visited him on the 2d February and presented him with an address. An evening-party at the University Hall was given in his honour that evening by Mr Parker, Judicial Registrar of the Panjab, and was a great success. On the 3d addresses were presented to him from the Islamic Society and the Indian Association, at the Government School. I give the Association address entire :—

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION, LAHORE.

To the Honourable
SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADUR, C.S.I.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We, the members of the Indian Association of Lahore, beg to welcome you to our city

with our best wishes and most distinguished sentiments.

Your noble exertions to improve the condition of the Mohammedan population of India, and to diffuse the blessings of knowledge and enlightenment among them, and the brilliant success you have been able to achieve in this direction, mark you out as one of the most meritorious of our public men, and deservedly entitle you to the esteem and gratitude of all classes of the Indian people. Our Association, composed of members of all races and creeds in this province, have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the high character of your services to the public, and in expressing their sense of the benefits you have conferred on the country.

Not the least remarkable feature of your public career has been the breadth of your views and your liberal attitude towards sections of the community other than your coreligionists. Your conduct throughout has been stainless of bias or bigotry. The benefits of the noble educational institution you have established at Allygurh are open alike to Hindus as well as Mohammedans. Our unhappy country is so split up with petty religious and sectarian jealousies, and had suffered so much in the past from sectarian and religious dissensions, that the advent of a man of your large-hearted and liberal views is a matter of peculiar congratulation at this time. Long may you be spared to inculcate knowledge among Mohammedans and Hindus alike, and, by eradicating prejudice and bigotry from their minds, to unite them in the firm bonds of fraternal union.

Your highly useful career in the Legislative Council of India can only be touched upon here. Your impartial care for all classes, your manly and faithful representation of national views and your vigilant regard for

national interests, while acting in that body, deserve the warmest acknowledgments from us and our countrymen.

Again welcoming you to Lahore, and hoping that the pleasure of your visit may often be renewed, and that your noble efforts may be crowned with success, we remain, your most obedient servants,

DAYAL SINGH, *President.*
&c. &c. &c.

In the course of his reply, Syed Ahmed laid great stress on the desirability of greater union between the two races—Hindus and Mohammedans — and said that in Council his efforts were always for them both as a nation. On this the 'Tribune' remarked :—

The Honourable Syed Ahmed Khan, C.S.I., was here. He left this on Monday last. His visit to this place deserves more than a passing notice on account of certain utterances which deserve the careful consideration of all our countrymen. We have all along pointed out the great desirability of establishing more friendly and intimate relations between the Hindus and Mohammedans than now exist. They should not only love and embrace each other as brothers, but they should also, if they want this country to rise to its ancient glory once again, become fused into one nation. The latter, however, must be the work of generations; the former is unquestionably the easier of the two, and can be accomplished in less time.

It would help us little now to insist on the exclusive privileges of either the Hindu or the Mohammedan. It is a fact that there are in India about 200 millions of

Hindus and about 50 millions of Mohammedans, and this fact cannot be ignored. Religious prejudices are the great stumbling-block in the way of brotherly feeling between the two mighty sections of the people; but liberal thought and liberal training have been at work, and we have already seen many apostles among the Hindus who have made it the mission of their life to preach the development of that feeling. The Mohammedans are more conservative in this respect, and it therefore gives us infinite pleasure to find that there is at least one great man among them who does not yield to any one in large-minded patriotism.

We heartily welcome his words, which we do not often hear from the lips of our Mohammedan compatriots. The example set by the Syed is worthy of imitation, not only by men of his own creed, but even by Hindus. We trust it will be largely followed.

He was presented with Rs. 1380 by the Association, and with Rs. 2074 by the Islamic Society and residents of Lahore. Early on the 4th February he was *en route* to Jallander, where he was the guest of Sirdar Bikrma Sing. That evening he made a long speech in the large hall at his host's house, and was enthusiastically cheered. An address was then read to him from the young men of Jallander, to which he replied. He left the same night by rail for Patialla, and reached the station of Najpura, the nearest to Patialla, the next morning. He was received by several of the Maharaja's high officials,

and the party left shortly after for Patialla in two carriages-and-four. His visit to Patialla was to his friends the Prime Minister Wazir ud Dowla Mudabbir ul Mulk Khalifa Syed Mahomed Hassan Khan, and Mushir ud Dowla Mumtaz ul Mulk Khalifa Syed Mahomed Hussain Khan. Shortly before reaching Patialla they were seen approaching, and soon the carriages stopped, and their occupants alighted and greeted each other. Re-entering the carriages, they soon reached their host's palace. The writer of the account of the journey says: "I was greatly astonished at seeing a picture here, in which Syed Ahmed is shown leaning against a tree on the sea-shore, with the late lamented Sir Salar Jang standing not far off. The sea is stormy, and the waves are running high; and a ship—dismasted—is shown crowded with people, and on the point of sinking. Several of the passengers have jumped into the sea, and are swimming towards the shore. A boat is trying to pick them up, and on its flag is written 'One lac of rupees.' Syed Ahmed is represented as saying 'Not sufficient.' An angel from heaven is on his shoulder, and he is pointing to Sir Salar Jang, with the words, 'Look to this noble man!' I did not understand the meaning of this allegory, but was told by the Prime Minister that it had

been painted to illustrate the condition of the Mohammedan College, and the appeal for help by Syed Ahmed to Sir Salar Jang when his college fund amounted to only a lac of rupees."

Syed Ahmed stayed two days at Pattiala, and collected Rs. 256 for the college. On the 6th he left for Mozaffernagger, where he stayed with Nawab Mahomed Ishak Khan, the first Mohammedan assistant in the North-West Provinces Civil Service. On the 7th he received addresses at the school, and replied at length. Rs. 196 were given him for the college. He left the same evening for Allygurh. So ended his "Mid-Lothian campaign" in the Panjab.

Towards the end of this month Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor North-West Provinces, entertained their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in his own and the Viceroy's camp at Agra, the latter being lent for the occasion. There were races, dinners, a splendid ball to the Duke and Duchess, and an evening party at the Lieutenant-Governor's. At the latter Syed Ahmed was presented to the Duke, and he afterwards came over to my tent in the camp, I having left the evening party early. We talked till the small hours, and in the course of a conversation on Egypt, he said, "Our position in Egypt reminds me of the story of the

man who lived by picking up flotsam and jetsam on the Indus. One day he was sitting with some of his friends, when he saw something black floating down the river which looked like a black blanket. He swam out and seized it, but found, to his horror, that it was a black bear, which at once hugged him. The man struggled hard, but could not escape, and was going down, when his friends saw his struggles, and thinking that the blanket was too heavy for him, called out to him to let it go. 'All very well,' cried the despairing mar, 'but the blanket won't let me go!' England, said Syed Ahmed, "is the man, and Egypt the bear."

On the 17th October 1884, Nawab Salar Jang, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, paid Syed Ahmed a visit to inspect the college, of which he is a visitor, as was his lamented and distinguished father, Sir Salar Jang. I went over for the occasion. That night we dined quietly at Syed Ahmed's,—the Nawab, who is a very tall and powerfully framed man of only twenty-three—suite of six, and three Englishmen. The next day, at 4.15 P.M., the Nawab drove with his party to the college, where he was received with cheers by the students. A large number of European and native gentlemen were present. Syed Ahmed Prime Minister, like Pitt, at that early age—his

read the address, and in reply his Excellency said: "If I were to arrogate all the kind things which you have said of me, I should be vain indeed. What you have said is out of your friendship for me, and I need not assure you how much I value it. You speak of the decline of the Mohammedans and their fortunes. Gentlemen, it is a sad story; but it is we ourselves who are mainly responsible for it, and the remedy you have devised is the only one for the evils which have come upon us. I quite agree with you that it is only the order and good government of the British power that have made the success of schemes such as you name possible in India. It is, then, our duty to be grateful to those who have enabled us to benefit ourselves and thus improve our condition. The work you have undertaken is one that cannot fail to have friends and supporters among all classes in India. As for us Mohammedans, it is our duty to help it, and see that the fine tree planted by you bears good fruit. You mention my father's services to your institution: it is very kind of you to do so. Those services were another proof of his great philanthropy and the good that he did in his day. Truly, gentlemen, his life was spent in benefiting others, and his good name is known throughout the world. What I have seen here — the crowded class-rooms, the boarding-

house, the teaching-staff, the numerous buildings connected with the college, the arrangements regarding board, lodging, and instruction—are all worthy of the highest praise; but as in enterprises of such moment the stronger the sinews of war the greater always the chances of success, I think it but right that, seeing the good work you have done, I should announce to you here the resolution of his Highness the Nizam's Government to increase the endowment from Hyderabad by Rs. 3000 a-year. I have no doubt that when I return to Hyderabad and represent to my sovereign and master what I have seen and heard here, his Highness, who takes great interest in matters of education, will confirm the grant. I shall conclude my reply with the wish that this institution may become a great seat of learning in India, and that its founder may live long enough to see the results of the good he has done, and gather with his own hands the fruit of the tree he has planted."

His Excellency's speech was enthusiastically applauded by the students. In the evening about fifty English and Mohammedan gentlemen dined with the members of the College Committee in the Salar Manzil (so named after Sir Salar Jang), the dining-hall of the college, to meet his Excellency Salar Jang. The road up to the hall was illumi-

nated. After dinner, the healths of the Queen-Empress, Lord Ripon, and the Nizam were proposed and heartily received. The Hon. Justice Mahmud then proposed the health of the guest of the evening as follows:—

Gentlemen, I rise on behalf of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Committee, of which I have the honour of being a member, to propose a toast, which, judging by my own feelings, will, I am sure, be heartily received. I wish to propose the health of our distinguished guest, his Excellency Nawab Ahmed-as-Saltanat Salar Jang Bahadur, who has honoured the college with a visit. I feel sure that there is no one round this table who does not feel the significance of to-night. Gentlemen, people of different races and creeds are assembled here to-night to welcome an illustrious guest, and the event has to us, friends and supporters of the college, a mark of special importance. Not many years ago some of our number, feeling the importance which education must necessarily possess in every country, co-operated with hearts full of hope to provide means for the education of the younger members of the Mohammedan community, who had by a combination of causes fallen behind the age. Our endeavours began among difficulties such as can be understood fully only by those who are acquainted with the inner conditions of Mohammedan life in British India. We were British subjects endeavouring to make our community worthy citizens by inspiring them with a desire to prepare the younger generation for being worthy subjects of the British empire. The difficulties are fully known to ourselves; but we felt that our endeavours could never

be crowned with success without the help of men of our own race and creed, whose prominence in the commonwealth would carry greater weight than any endeavours of our own could possibly claim. It was then that the illustrious father of our honoured guest gave us a helping hand by assisting us not only with money, but with that which we appreciate and prize much higher—his genuine sympathy for the cause of Mohammedan education. It would be out of place here to say anything in connection with the administrative reforms which Sir Salar Jang introduced in Hyderabad; but I think I may say with confidence, that among the glorious deeds which will keep him illustrious in history, his interest in the cause of education and enlightenment will not be the least significant. It was due to that interest that the College Committee won the sympathy of the greatest Indian administrator of the time, illustrious as a governor, distinguished not only among the Mohammedans, but also among people of other races. Our distinguished guest to-night—a son and successor of an illustrious administrator—has, in inheriting the rank and position of his noble ancestor, inherited also what we, as you may well imagine, appreciate deeply—a genuine interest in the cause of education. I will say nothing in connection with the magnificent increase of endowment which his Excellency, in reply to our address, announced to-day; but I think we have the privilege of saying, even in his Excellency's presence, that his visit to us will live as a historical event in the annals of this college. Gentlemen, our college is an institution which has for its aim and ambition the promotion of education among Mohammedans—education which we hope will make them worthy subjects of the British Crown; and it is to us a matter of special satis-

faction that the long subsisting friendship which has existed between the Government of the Queen-Empress and the Hyderabad State has been evinced in our case by the pecuniary help and genuine sympathy which we have received from his Highness the Nizam's Government. As British subjects we owe allegiance to the British Crown; but in connection with a matter like education, which has a permanent bearing upon the progress of the empire, I feel—and I think his Excellency will agree with me—the two Governments have common interests. The presence here to-night of people of different races and religions is in itself to us a mark of the interest which education has, and must necessarily have, in connection with the progress of India. And, gentlemen, I am sure that, meeting here as we have done round the same table in honour of our distinguished guest, you will agree with me in the feeling that his Excellency the Nawab—who, with his great responsibilities, has, I am sure we all hope, a long career before him—may follow the example of his illustrious father, and help the cause of enlightenment, of security and public welfare, which, even in the most trying times, proved true to the interests of the empire of the Queen-Empress. Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of his Excellency Nawab Salar Jang, with all good wishes for his long life and prosperity, with the heartiness of the feeling which animates me at the present moment.

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm. His Excellency replied as follows:—

Mr President and gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the kind manner in which you have pro-

posed and received my health. I should have felt myself unworthy of the honour you have done me to-night, had I not felt that in honouring me you were honouring the memory of my illustrious father. Of him it may be truly said that his good deeds have not been interred with his bones. Wherever I go, and whichever way I turn, I am greeted with witnesses of his greatness and the good name he has left behind him, and they are to me an unfailing source of support and encouragement. Thus I receive the handsome tribute you have paid to his memory as another admonition to me to follow in his footsteps. You have spoken of the help rendered by my father to this institution in connection with the friendly relations that subsist between his Highness and the paramount Power. Gentlemen, history has developed itself wonderfully during the last fifty years. Every native prince and native ruler is beginning to think himself a part and parcel of the empire, which, I sincerely believe, has a great destiny before it. Our progress and our prosperity are bound up with the progress and prosperity of the empire. In helping, therefore, an institution like the one you have founded here, my father was only helping the good of the empire, which is the good of all of us who form part of it. This is the view I take of all philanthropic undertakings, in whatever part of India they may-be started, and my opinion is founded on true patriotism, and a just estimate of our position in contemporary history. In going over the college and grounds yesterday, I could not help wondering at the speed with which your institution has developed itself. Undertakings of this kind are necessarily of slow growth, but the progress you have made needs to be seen in order to be believed. I have seen the colleges

at the great seats of learning in England, and your institution, I venture to say, has got in it the same element that has led to their greatness and renown. The ground we are treading to-day will, I have no doubt, in some no distant future become classic ground; and it is not at all chimerical to imagine that under the shade of the fine trees you have planted, some Indian Bacon will one day formulate thoughts that are destined to change our philosophy, some Indian Newton will evolve problems which will revolutionise our science. While thanking you again for the honour you have done me to-night, I shall ask you to drink the health of our esteemed friend Syed Ahmed Khan, coupled with that of prosperity to the college. His services to his country and to his Government are too well known to need any comment; and long after those present here are dead and gone, the Mohammedan College at Allygurh will stand a living witness of his philanthropy.

Syed Ahmed replied in a short but feeling speech, and was warmly cheered when he sat down. Of the Nawab Salar Jang I may here repeat what I said of him in the 'Pioneer': "The impression left by the young Prime Minister—he is only three-and-twenty—is a most pleasing one. Of a commanding presence, courteous and self-possessed, he has inherited the qualities and manner which, for more than a quarter of a century, made the late Sir Salar Jang so great a favourite, not only with those in high position, but with the European community at large." After

dinner, on my asking the Nawab for his speech, he said he had no copy, but he asked me to go with him into the dining-hall, which by that time was nearly clear, saying that he would dictate it to me there. As I thought there was too little time to allow of my doing so, his Excellency having to start for Hyderabad by a train leaving shortly after, I said so; upon which the Nawab said he would telegraph it to me from Cawnpore. After some conversation I left him, and found afterwards that, on my leaving him, he had at once got a friend of mine to go into the dining-room with him, dictated his speech, and had it duly taken down. His last words to me as I saw him into his carriage were, "Remember, Mr —— has it." I got it in due course.

On the 18th November the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, paid Syed Ahmed a flying visit *en route* from Simla to Agra. Syed Ahmed asked me to be present, and I went over on the evening of the 17th. The Viceroy reached Allygurh about mid-day on the 18th, and was received by all the officials and principal native gentlemen. He drove at once to the college, where he was received by the Hon. Justice Mahmud, in Cambridge cap and gown, and Mr Theodore Beck, the able Principal of the College (late President of the Cambridge University Union Society), also

in Cambridge cap and gown, and the members of the College Committee. His lordship went over the whole of the college, and was evidently struck with what he saw. An episode afterwards occurred, and Lord Ripon received an honour that has never yet been bestowed upon any former Viceroy. The party had to cross an open space to get to the Strachey Hall, in which his Excellency was to receive an address; and a number of native gentlemen came forward begging to be allowed to carry his lordship across in a *tonjon*, or species of sedan-chair. This was equivalent to their taking the horses out of his carriage and dragging the carriage themselves. Lord Ripon consented, and was duly carried across in state, the native gentlemen having their hands on all round the *tonjon*, which was, however, really carried by stalwart bearers in red uniform.

In the Strachey Hall, Lord Ripon received an address from the Committee of the college, and replied in due course. The 'Pioneer' said of this occasion :—

Of Lord Ripon's many public appearances during the last fortnight, his visit to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh last Tuesday, is in many respects the most important. We publish below the full text of his Excellency's speech on the occasion, as well as the address presented him on behalf of the college, in itself a remarkable document, which ran as follows :—

"We, the members of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Committee, approach your Excellency with feelings of sincere gratitude for the honour which your lordship has conferred upon us to-day by visiting the scene of our humble labours to promote the cause of education among the Mohammedan community. Upon an occasion so auspicious, we feel that it will not be out of place to mention briefly the origin of the movement which has resulted in the foundation of the college, the progress which the institution has made, and the prospects it has in the future.

"Among the numerous blessings which the British rule has conferred upon India, we are convinced there is none which can rank higher than the inauguration of a system of education based upon Western methods, and having for its aim the moral and intellectual progress of the native population. The educational policy adopted by the Government of India about half a century ago—a policy with which the great name of Lord Macaulay will always be associated—was emphasised in 1854, and has since produced results which find no parallel in the history of the world. For never before in the history of mankind has there been a spectacle like the British rule in India, where, along with the establishment of peace, the administration of justice, the introduction of the ordinary comforts of civilised life, one of the main principles of Government is to promote education and to advance enlightenment among a vast population whom Providence has placed under the administration of statesmen of a foreign race and creed. Impressed with the stupendous significance of these facts, and seeing the progress which, in consequence, the various races in India were making, some of the members of the Mohammedan community could not help

observing, with feelings of regret and anxiety, the painful circumstance that their own coreligionists did not adequately participate in the great benefits which the system of State education impartially offered to the various sections of her Majesty's subjects in British India. It is happily no longer necessary for us to dwell upon the lamentable causes which have prevented our coreligionists from fully availing themselves of the education imparted in Government colleges and schools; but it is impossible, in connection with the history of this college, to refrain from a passing allusion to the special condition of our community, the socio-political traditions of our race, the religious feelings and national prejudices which for so long operated as obstacles to the advancement of European thought and appreciation of English education among our coreligionists. Those were obstacles which were beginning to assume inordinate magnitude, according as time advanced and the progress made by the other classes of her Majesty's Indian subjects threw back the Mohammedan population in the race of life, by making them less worthy of citizenship of the empire. Aware of the existing state of things, apprehensive of the dangers which threatened the future of our race in India, and anxious to make the growing generation of Mohammedans worthy of British citizenship—loyal and useful subjects of the British Crown—some of the members of our community formed themselves into a Committee to investigate and ascertain the exact causes which operated to produce such unsatisfactory effects on the social, political, and economical condition of the Mohammedan community in India. Among other measures taken by the Committee, they offered prizes for essays on the subject of Mohammedan education. No less than thirty-two essays

were sent to them; and as the result of their final deliberations, the Committee came to the conclusion that the foundation of a college, independent in its internal organisation and management, calculated to meet the educational needs of the Mohammedan community in particular, was absolutely necessary to give practical effect to the conclusions at which they had arrived. With this object in view, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee was formed in the year 1871, for the purpose of collecting subscriptions to raise necessary funds for founding the proposed institution. They publicly declared that one of the main objects of the proposed college was to bring a knowledge of European science and literature home to the Mohammedans of India, and to combine religious with secular education in a manner which they regarded was not practicable in any institution maintained solely by the State. To the masses of the Mohammedan population the idea of the introduction of European methods of thought into the minds of the growing generation of their race appeared as an unwelcome departure from their old and traditional attitude of mind, and our endeavours at the outset were met with an opposition which, though not unexpected by us, seemed no doubt formidable. Whilst our early endeavours were beset with difficulties raised by our own coreligionists, we had, though we would fain forget it, no uniform sympathy at that time from persons in local authority, whose cordial sympathy might have facilitated our task in a large measure. The friends and supporters of the movement, however, continued their endeavours with firmness and patience, and their efforts were crowned with speedy success. Whilst subscriptions were being collected from our own countrymen in various parts of

India, foremost among those in high position who came forward to countenance the movement was your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Northbrook, whose handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 forms an endowment devoted to scholarships called after his name. Sir William Muir, at the time Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, and Sir John Strachey, who soon after succeeded him in that high office, also personally helped us with munificent donations, and showed sympathy towards our undertaking,—a sympathy which went far to remove those suspicions as to the exact nature of the movement which the novelty of our endeavours had unhappily aroused in some quarters. With such funds as we were able to raise in four years, we opened classes for elementary education in 1875; and on the 8th of January 1877, the foundation-stone of the college buildings was laid by Lord Lytton, who at our humble request graciously consented to preside at the ceremony. Since that time we have expended about Rs. 182,000 on buildings, and the progress which we have made encourages us to hope that the day is not far off when we shall be in possession of funds to complete all the projected buildings. Our annual income during the current year approximates Rs. 44,000, and will increase during the next year by at least Rs. 3000 which is the increase of endowment recently announced on behalf of the Hyderabad State by his Excellency Nawab Salar Jang on the occasion of his recent visit to the college. Our income next year is thus expected to amount to nearly Rs. 47,000; but our full scheme would require an annual income of Rs. 60,000, and it is to the public generosity that we look for further endowments. The past encourages us to hope that that generosity will not be found wanting in the future. And it is here

that we crave your lordship's permission to mention the names of a few of our benefactors whose liberality has afforded us pecuniary aid and given encouragement to our undertaking. The Earl of Lytton, who during his stay in India was pleased to take a personal interest in our college, generously gave us pecuniary help which proved valuable to us in time of need, and his name will always be associated with the college as one of its early benefactors. To the benevolence of the Government we are indebted for the greater portion of the spacious grounds upon which the college buildings have been erected; and the generosity of the State, which began in 1875 with Rs. 4200 per annum as grant-in-aid, has now, under the administration of our present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alfred Lyall, been increased to Rs. 12,000. From English friends, both in England and in India, the college has received pecuniary help, which we have deeply appreciated and highly valued as a guarantee of the sympathy which we sincerely hope will, with the advance of education, grow between the ruling race and the people of India. Conspicuous among our Hindu supporters is the name of the late Maharajah of Patialla, whose magnificent endowment heads the list, which includes the names of the Maharajahs of Benares and Vizianagram, and many other liberal-minded Hindu gentlemen who have favoured our cause. The difference of race and creed has not deterred them from helping us; and it is a matter of especial gratification to us that among our Hindu supporters we have the name of that philanthropic lady, Maharani Surnomoyee. By far the greater portion of our funds and endowments is, however, naturally derived from members of our own race and creed. Foremost among them will always stand the name of the late Sir Salar Jang, whose untimely

death is lamented by us as a great blow to the cause of the spread of education, enlightenment, and civilisation among the Mohammedans of India. His name will live and remain illustrious in history, and distinguished among the munificent benefactors of this college. To his Highness the Nizam's Government we are indebted for a princely donation, besides the endowment of Rs. 6000 per annum, which has quite recently been increased to Rs. 9000 per annum, as was announced to us by the present enlightened Minister of Hyderabad. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur has also liberally helped us with a generous hand. The names of other prominent co-religionists in all parts of India who have heartily joined our endeavours and come forward with pecuniary help, are too numerous to be enumerated here; but among the *raises* living in the vicinity of Allygurh we may mention the names of Koer Lutf Ali Khan of Talignagar, Rajah Bakar Ali Khan, C.I.E., of Pindrawal, Mahomed Enayat-ullah Khan of Bhikampur, and Mahomed Ismail Khan of Datauli, all of whom have shown a warm appreciation of the cause of education among our community.

"My lord, we have recounted these facts because we are proud to feel that the principle of self-help is still in some measure alive in our community, because we are anxious to give public expression to the feeling of loyalty and gratitude with which the help and sympathy of Government in our undertaking have inspired us; also because we cannot forget how much we are indebted to public generosity for the success which our humble endeavours have hitherto attained. Our subscription was opened in 1871; in 1875 we opened the school with only eleven students on the rolls, and an income of Rs. 5500 per annum. In January 1877 the foundation-stone of the college was laid; and soon after

the standard of instruction was raised, the college, by gradual steps, was affiliated to the Calcutta University, and for the last two years we have educated up to the standard of the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During this period our annual income has risen to nearly Rs. 44,000; the number of our students has risen to 270, and 96 of them have at various times succeeded in the examinations of the Calcutta University. But training for university examinations is not the distinguishing feature of the college, for in that respect it differs but little from other institutions. The college is the practical outcome of the principle of self-help. It is maintained under native management, in which the European members of the college staff afford valuable co-operation. Its curriculum combines religious with secular education. The authorities of the college exercise supervision over the personal habits and private life of the students. Along with intellectual and moral training, manly sports are encouraged. The system of boarding-houses renders the institution available to students from distant parts of the country. And we are proud to feel that no institution in India exercises its influence over a vaster area of the country than this seat of education. The college is the outcome of national feeling,—it aims at supplying the educational needs and meeting the religious wishes of the Mohammedan community at large; and we have on our rolls students whom the special benefits of our institution have attracted from distant places—such as Peshawar in the north, Hyderabad and Mysore in the south, Calcutta and Patna in the east, and Katiawar in the west. It has been our aim to render the college as far as possible similar in principle to the system on which the public schools of England and the colleges at the Universities

of Cambridge and Oxford are based; and one of the special features of the institution is to prepare students for completing their education in England. Five of our students have already proceeded to England for education; two of them have taken honours at the University of Cambridge: and the connection which we have thus established with the educational system of England will, we hope, grow much closer in time; and we look forward to the day when the intellectual vigour and moral influence of the centres of learning in England will be appreciably felt by the Mohammedan community in India. My lord, we feel that to compare this college with the educational institutions of England is to compare small things with great. But the greatest educational institutions in England had at one time a small beginning, and the glorious success which they have achieved encourages us to hope that Providence may bless our endeavours with success similar to that which it has bestowed upon the philanthropic efforts of those who founded the great colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The British rule in India has united a vast and multifarious population under one sceptre; and the peace, toleration, and security which it has established, furnish an ample basis for the intellectual and moral progress of the various peoples inhabiting this vast continent. Among them the Mohammedan community is slowly but steadily freeing itself from those illusory traditions of the past which hampered them in the race of life and made them unworthy subjects of the British Crown. The founders of this college have before them the aim of extending their scheme to places other than Allygurh. For the purposes of higher education this college will continue to supply the special needs of the Mohammedan population; but for primary education

the friends and supporters of the college intend to induce their coreligionists in various parts of India to establish schools to prepare young students for the higher classes of the college. Some day, when our endowments are richer and our schemes are completed, we hope to be in a position to ask the great representative in India of her Majesty the Queen-Empress to confer upon us the legal status of an independent university.

"My lord, if we dwell upon the future prospects of this institution, it is because we are convinced that nothing can be achieved without hope, that nothing great can be accomplished without high aspirations. The aspirations of the founders of this college are purely educational, but from education spring those social, political, and economical blessings which civilisation brings in its train. The time has happily passed when the Mohammedans of India looked upon their condition as hopeless, when they regarded the past with feelings of mournful sorrow. Their hopes are now inclined to the prospects of the future: their hearts, full of loyalty to the rule of the Queen-Empress, aspire to finding distinction and prominence among the various races of the vast empire over which her Majesty holds sway. It is to help the realisation of these aspirations that this college has been founded, and we fervently hope that among the results which may flow from our system of education, not the least important will be the promotion of friendly feelings of social intercourse and interchange of amenities of life between the English community in India and the Mohammedan population. The distinctions of race, language, and creed have unhappily combined, with other less natural causes, to maintain an immiscibility of character among the vari-

ous sections of the population of India. But we are convinced that the progress of education will mitigate those causes; that with the advance of general enlightenment, civilisation will furnish a common platform of social intercourse; that race distinctions will sink into insignificance; and, regardless of petty considerations, the Englishman and the native will unite with equal loyalty and equal patriotism to advance the peace, the prosperity, and general welfare of the great Indian empire. India owes it to the noble and magnanimous policy which your Excellency inaugurated, the real steps towards the attainment of the great aims to which we have referred. It does not befit us, in the capacity in which we approach your Excellency to-day, to speak of the great effect upon peace, progress, and prosperity which your Excellency's noble endeavours will have upon the future welfare of the people of India. With matters purely political or purely administrative we are only but indirectly concerned. But concerned as we are with education in particular, we claim it as our right, and we value it as our privilege, to express even in your lordship's presence those feelings of deep appreciation and loyal gratitude with which the people of India will always regard the measures which your Excellency's Administration has adopted in connection with the great subject of education. The late Commission appointed to investigate and report upon the results which the educational policy of Government had produced during a period of more than a quarter of a century, the searching inquiry which the Commission instituted, the principles of future policy which your Excellency's Government has recently announced, will live in the history of India and the hearts of her people as one of the many illustrious facts of your

Excellency's Viceroyalty of India. To us, the friends and supporters of the cause of education among Mohammedans, your Excellency's personal munificence in contributing to the funds of this college will remain a lasting memorial of that generosity and large-heartedness with which the people of India have learnt to credit the nobility and gentry of the distant land of Great Britain. Your Excellency's visit to-day will ever be a historical event in the annals of our college, and a magnificent illustration of the sympathy which the British rule and the great statesmen who guide its affairs have shown towards the spread of enlightenment and civilisation in India. But with all that we feel about the past, with all that we feel about the present, with all the hopes and aspirations which animate us about the future, we feel, and feel in common with the millions that inhabit the British empire in India, a feeling of deep and heartfelt sorrow at your lordship's approaching departure from India. That the teeming millions that inhabit India have a great future before them, greater even than the most glorious days of their past—that that future will be the outcome of the noble efforts which the British rule is making in their behalf—cannot be doubted by any but those who are unacquainted with the history of mankind. The British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world, and the guidance of its great principles a task beset with difficulties of no ordinary moment. With those difficulties your lordship's Administration had to contend. But the lapse of time or the vicissitudes of administrative policy will be equally powerless to obliterate the great and noble principles, the recognition of which your lordship's Administration has secured for this country. Your Excellency's name

will remain illustrious in the history of India as one of the greatest benefactors of the Indian people; but even more illustrious than the record of history, will live impressed upon the living hearts of living millions the recollection of an Administration magnanimous in its policy, philanthropic in its aims, and having justice as its sole guide amid contending interests and conflicting claims.

"My lord, while thanking you for the honour which you have conferred upon us to-day, and the sympathy which you have evinced towards our humble efforts in behalf of education, we cannot refrain from expressing a heartfelt hope that, notwithstanding the disseverance of your Excellency's connection with the Government of India, your lordship will continue to take an interest in the destinies of her people; and we fervently pray to the Almighty Creator of all nations, that the career of distinction which is still open to you may be distinguished with long life, health, and prosperity."

His Excellency the Viceroy then rose, and spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen, I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to have been able to visit this interesting institution upon the present occasion, and to have received from you so cordial a greeting. My attention has long been called to this college, and I have watched its progress with much interest. To-day I have had the honour of actually seeing the buildings which have been erected and the work which is going on here; and I have been greatly gratified to observe the progress which has already been made, the comforts which you have provided for your students, and the ample means of instruction which you have placed at their disposal. The success which has up to this time attended your efforts

is to me a source of great satisfaction, not only because of the interest which I have long taken in this college on account of its connection with my esteemed friend Syed Ahmed, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making on my first arrival in India, but also because I see in that success a proof of what can be done in this country in the matter of education by the power of private enterprise and individual personal influence; for I am strongly convinced that it is only by private munificence and private management supplementing the efforts of the Government that we can hope to solve the difficult and important problem of public education in India in a complete and thorough manner.

You, gentlemen, have said in your address that self-help is still alive in your community. You cannot have a better augury of the success which is likely to attend your efforts. You tell me that one of the main objects of the founders of this institution was to combine religious and secular education. With that object, as I think you know, I heartily sympathise; for I hold the belief, which is not perhaps very common in these days, that the division between those two branches of education which go by the name of religious and secular is altogether an artificial division, and that a complete education can only be secured by their close and intimate union.

Again, gentlemen, in your address I find mention made of another object which you have set before you, with which I most cordially sympathise. You say that it is one of the special features of this institution to prepare students for completing their education in England. To my mind that is a very great object of public and political importance. The more able and intelligent

young men from India can be induced to go to England to complete their education there in the schools and universities of that country, the better both for India and for England. Those who go there will learn what are the true sentiments of the English people towards the people of India, and I venture to assure them that they will find them friendly and sympathetic; while Englishmen will derive much benefit from knowing what are the abilities, the feelings, and the aspirations of educated natives of this country.

Gentlemen, I have derived great pleasure from the manner in which you have spoken at the beginning of this address with respect to the educational policy of the British Government. Your words are well worth repeating, and therefore I will read them again. You say: "The educational policy adopted by the Government of India about half a century ago—a policy with which the great name of Lord Macaulay will always be associated—was emphasised in 1854, and has since produced results which find no parallel in the history of the world. For never before in the history of mankind has there been a spectacle like the British rule in India, where, along with the establishment of peace, the administration of justice, the introduction of the ordinary comforts of civilised life, one of the main principles of Government is to promote education and to advance enlightenment among a vast population whom Providence has placed under the administration of statesmen of a foreign race and creed." That description of the British policy in this country is, I am proud to think, a just description, and there is no part of our administration in this great peninsula upon which we may more fairly rest our claim to the thanks of the people of India. It is indeed, gentlemen, as you remark, a striking spectacle

—unique, I believe, in history—that a Government such as the English Government in this country should deliberately and of its own free will conduct its administration under the criticism of a free press, and that it should make it one of its chief objects to promote to the widest possible extent the education of all classes of the people. That England should have done, and should be doing this, is, to my mind, one of her highest titles to honour among the nations of the world, and one which I earnestly hope she will never forfeit. Gentlemen, the work which has been done during the last thirty or forty years in India in the matter of secondary and higher education must not on any account be slackened—on the contrary, it must be extended and developed to the utmost, and with that view we must call in to help in that great work all agencies of every description; and I see in the success of this institution the hope and the promise that that assistance will be given to the Government by private munificence and religious zeal. But it is not only for the instruction of the higher and the middle classes that we have to provide. The benefits of our teaching must nowadays be carried down to the masses of the population, and it was with the object of ascertaining how that could best be done that the Government two years ago appointed an Education Commission, which has taken a complete survey of the educational condition of the country, and it is naturally to that object that the resolution which we have recently issued has mainly been directed. Here, too, we must appeal to the co-operation of all classes of the community, and especially to those to whom God has given a larger share of wealth, and who therefore are bound to come forward and aid in the instruction of their poorer countrymen.

Gentlemen, having spoken of our recent resolution, there is a matter connected with it on which I should like to say a few words, because it relates to a question in which the majority of those who are present here to-day naturally feel a deep interest. In that resolution we have spoken of the question of expanding and improving the education of the Mohammedan community as a special question. Now, gentlemen, when we called that question a special question, we did not mean thereby that we contemplated giving any advantages to the Mohammedan community inconsistent with perfect fairness and equality towards all other classes of the people. I am quite sure that you yourselves would be the last to desire anything of the kind. What we mean is, that in consequence of those circumstances in the past to which you have alluded in your address, your position in regard to this great question is somewhat special and peculiar, and that therefore we are prepared, in applying the general principles of our educational policy, which must be alike for all, to your community, to consider how far the application which we make of them should in any degree be special and different to that which may be suitable for other classes. It is a source of regret to me, gentlemen, that I have not myself been able to deal with this particular branch of the question before I leave India. I might, of course, have composed half-a-dozen paragraphs out of my own head and inserted them in the recent resolution, or I might have resorted to the able pen of our excellent Home Secretary, Mr Mackenzie, and asked him to draft a few sentences on the subject. He would have done so admirably, I have not the smallest doubt; but it appeared to me that this matter was eminently one upon which it was essentially necessary that, before taking any

action, the Government should consult the representative men of the Mohammedan community. The less inclined we are to give you special privileges, the less able we are to spend large sums of money upon any particular branch of education, the more necessary is it that we should consult with those who understand the matter thoroughly themselves, the wants and the feelings of their community, before we determine on the course to be taken. Well, for that purpose there was not time, and therefore I have reluctantly been obliged to leave the question unsettled during my tenure of office in India. But, gentlemen, I leave that, as I leave all other Indian questions, in excellent hands, when I leave it in the hands of my old friend Lord Dufferin, who, I know, will deal with it, as he will deal with all the subjects which come before him, with that ability, that justice, and that judgment for which he is so eminently distinguished.

I was particularly struck, gentlemen, at the circumstance mentioned in your address that a considerable number of Hindu chiefs and gentlemen had contributed to the establishment and support of this college. I rejoice greatly at that circumstance; I hold it to be most fortunate for the future prospects of India. Foremost among the names of those who have done so I find that of the late Maharajah of Patialla, the Maharajah of Benares, the Maharajah of Vizianagram; and last, but certainly not least, is found the name of a lady, the Maharani Surnomoyee. It was doubtless natural that you should obtain much support from Mohammedan princes, chiefs, and gentlemen, but still I cannot help expressing my great satisfaction at finding the cordial interest which is taken in this institution by his Highness the Nizam. I shall always feel a very deep and

special interest in the prosperity of that young Prince. The fact that it fell to my lot to install him the other day, and to be the first Viceroy of India who had ever visited Hyderabad, apart from his own personal merits, will always make me watch his career with the keenest sympathy. Next on the honourable roll of your supporters I find the name of that distinguished statesman whom India has lately lost, my friend Sir Salar Jang, whose premature and untimely death was a misfortune alike to the State which he ruled and to the British Government in India. But he has left behind him a representative in his son, of whom I have high hopes. I trust that he will walk in the footsteps of his father, and will prove himself a worthy son. To the Nizam and to his Minister the cordial and hearty support of the Government of India is fully ensured. The Nawab of Rampur has been also a liberal supporter of this institution, and I observe his name in the list with satisfaction. It would take too long if I were to go through the roll of those chiefs and gentlemen who in a lesser degree have aided in this great work, but I cannot help expressing my great satisfaction at finding upon the list of your benefactors the names of some of my most distinguished countrymen—of Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, Sir William Muir, and Sir John Strachey. I have had brought to my notice, gentlemen, the assistance which has been given in many ways to this institution by Moulvie Sami-ullah Khan;[1] and I am very glad to have this opportunity of returning him my own thanks, and I have no doubt that I may return him the thanks of all present on this occasion, for his valuable services to the college. Gentlemen, you are all aware that when Lord Northbrook was lately sent to

[1] Sami-ullah Khan was made a C.M.G. soon after.

Egypt he asked that he might have the assistance upon his staff of a Mohammedan gentleman from this country. The Moulvie was selected for that purpose, and I am quite sure that he discharged ably the duties which were intrusted to him. But it is not merely for the purpose of thanking him that I have drawn attention to that fact. It is that I may ask you to observe the proof which this circumstance affords of the readiness of the British Government to employ natives of India outside their own country upon suitable occasions as opportunity may offer; and I would also hope that you will see in the fact of Lord Northbrook's desire to have such assistance, a sign of the confidence which your late Governor-General learnt while he was in India to place in the native gentlemen of this country.

Gentlemen, towards the close of your address you speak in warm and friendly terms of the general character of my administration. That men so intelligent and so experienced as those from whom this address emanates should have formed so favourable an estimate of the course which I have pursued in India is very gratifying to me. I cannot, indeed, conceal from myself that your friendly sentiments have unduly heightened the colours of the picture which you have drawn, but you have rightly understood the principles by which I have been guided and the objects at which I have aimed. Foremost among those objects has been the desire to promote public education in the fullest and widest sense of the word—the intellectual, the political, and the moral education of the people. You, in your own sphere and manner, are working for the same great end, supported by all the brilliant memories of the Mohammedan civilisation of the past, and enlightened by the wider and more liberal spirit of modern times.

You are engaged here, I am convinced, upon a great work of public utility, and therefore it is right that I, before I lay down my office, should follow the example of my predecessors, and should come here to acknowledge your services and to encourage you in your labours. I do so most heartily, and I confidently believe that there lies before this institution a long and shining course of usefulness and success.

Gentlemen, I heartily wish you farewell.

After the ceremony we drove to Syed Ahmed's house, where a splendid luncheon was awaiting the Viceroy and a few guests. Syed Ahmed was on the Viceroy's left, the Hon. Justice Mahmud on Lord Ripon's right; and it was to me, who had known the former as a subordinate judge in the small station of Ghazipore, and the latter as a boy at school, a right pleasant sight to see father and son in such honourable positions. There is not another family in India, and there is not likely again to be one, that has had a father in Council and a son a Judge of the High Court at one and the same time. As Lord Ripon had still to receive several of the hundreds of addresses which poured in upon him during his journey from Simla to Calcutta and Bombay, the luncheon was more hurried than those who are fond of the good things of this life, including pomphret and oysters from Bombay, and dry champagne, quite relished. But a Viceroy's time is not his own, and the public

convenience has to be attended to, so we all drove off to the hall of the Scientific Society, of which Syed Ahmed and I are Life Honorary Secretaries where the Viceroy and party were photographed, and the addresses were read. The Viceroy left soon after for Agra, amid a roar of cheers from the vast crowd of natives assembled to see him off. Syed Ahmed was not one of the least vigorous of the cheerers. I have seen seven Viceroys — Lords Canning, Elgin, Lawrence, Mayo, Northbrook, Lytton, and Ripon — come and go, and certainly none of them have evoked such general enthusiasm and regard from the native community as the last. To those at home who are interested in India, I would recommend the perusal of an article—"If it be real, what does it mean?"—which appeared in the 'Pioneer of December 12, 1884, the author being, as is an open secret, Sir Auckland Colvin,—marked A in the Appendix. Its sale in a separate form has been enormous amongst both natives and Europeans. Its ability and far-seeing statesmanship add much to the already great reputation of its author. The writer of the "thoughtful article"[1] in the 'Allygurh Institute Gazette' of the 25th November was the Hon. Mr Justice Mahmud. How men like himself must regard some of the

[1] *Vide* Appendix A, p. 391.

English in India is evident from a story which he told me. He happened to visit the Madras Club with the Chief-Justice, Sir Charles Turner, who is a great friend of his. They had only been a few minutes inside when one of the members came up to Sir Charles and told him, before Syed Mahmud, that no native was allowed in the Club. They left it. People at home will scarcely believe this; but it is a fact, and the sooner we alter this behaviour of ours to the natives, the better for the stability of our rule in India.

Syed Ahmed and two of his friends being in Agra last November, I asked them to dinner at the Club, they being the first Mohammedan gentlemen who have ever dined there. After dinner, as we were sitting smoking and chatting in the reading-room, Syed Ahmed turned to me and said, "Would that it were like this all over India! What a pleasant land it would then be for us!" The time *is* coming. If all men were like Syed Ahmed it would have come long ago.

On the 24th December 1884, a cricket-match was played at Allygurh between the College and Station. Lunch was held in a large tent, and a novel feature was the joining of the college students in the station tiffin. At one of the three tables Mrs Aikman, wife of my friend the Judge, entertained the College eleven, herself sit-

ting at one end, and Mr Beck, the Principal of the College, at the other. Syed Ahmed, in an account of the match published in the 'Allygurh Institute Gazette,' said, "The students will not readily forget the courtesy and kindness shown them on this occasion by an English lady."

After tiffin, Syed Ahmed, who was at another table, rose and said: "I should not like to incur the displeasure of the cricketers by detaining them from their game by a long speech. I will therefore put what I have to say in a few words. On behalf of the College Committee, I must most cordially thank Mrs Aikman for the favour she has so kindly shown to the boys of our College. Every nation has appointed certain ceremonies to be observed on the day their New Year commences. The New Year's day for the natives of India will, I believe, be the day when ceremonies are performed showing unity, love, and sympathy between them and Europeans. I therefore regard to-day as *our* New Year's Day. I propose that, in honour of Mrs Aikman, a gold medal, called after her, be given every year to the best cricketer in the (College) Club, to keep alive the memory of her kindness to-day. To provide for it, I shall deposit a sum enough to give a yearly interest sufficient for the purpose." "Mrs Aikman very

kindly," writes Syed Ahmed, "consented;" and the match was resumed, and resulted in a victory for the Station.

Syed Ahmed has now resided for many years in his comfortable house in Allygurh, which was purchased and furnished for him in European style by his son, the Hon. Syed Mahmud. Here he entertains his numerous guests who visit him from all parts of India—Mohammedans, Sikhs, Hindus, and Englishmen. The doors are always open. The whole atmosphere is redolent of literature. His sitting-room, in which he passes most of the day at the desk, is full of books and papers; the walls of his dining-room are covered with bookcases filled with standard English works; and his library—a splendid room—is stocked with a vast variety of books, including numerous theological works used by him in writing his Commentary on the Bible, Koran, &c. One of the not least interesting books to me is Syed Mahmud's prize taken at Cambridge for the best English essay! In the drawing-room is the diploma making Syed Ahmed a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he is particularly proud. On the wall opposite is a full-length portrait in oil of his friend Sir John Strachey, a lifelike likeness. There are also portraits of Sir Salar Jang, Lord Lytton, and his Highness the Nizam

of Hyderabad. The days for him pass pleasantly and quickly. One of his great characteristics is his untiring energy. In addition to great breadth of views on questions of national importance, he possesses a power of work as regards minute details which is astonishing. Up at 4 A.M., he writes his newspaper articles, his books and pamphlets—sees visitors, official and private—and conducts the onerous duties of his secretaryship to the College Committees not only by day, but not unfrequently far into the night. With him mental labour of the higher kind tends to long life and sound health. His meals are served in European style, and he is a rigid abstainer from all liquor except Adam's ale. At and after dinner friends drop in. The topics of conversation range from discussions on metaphysics, religion, and politics, to quotations from Persian poets and humorous anecdotes. He is of middle height and of massive build, weighing upwards of nineteen stone. His face is leonine—a rugged witness to his determination and energy. If, however, rather stern and forbidding when at rest, it lights up genially when speaking, reflecting the warmth of heart which he so largely possesses. He has a hearty laugh, and enjoys a joke as much as any man. He will put his stick under the table at din-

ner, and suddenly frighten those present by pretending to see a snake. Or again, the subject of conversation is the reform of his nation. One of his listeners is sleepy and nods. The Syed is anxious that all should attend. The sleepy member says he hears everything, but he presently nods again. All of a sudden a terrific shout of alarm is heard which makes every one jump, including the sleepy one; but all they see is the old Syed in roars of laughter! He has been a widower for many years, and has only had one wife. He informed me the other day, with a twinkle in his eye, that "he might marry again! But," said he, "*she* must be English, in order that I may mix more freely in English society, and she must be eighty years old, and have lost all her teeth!" He is a born orator. His delivery, when he warms to his subject, resembles that of Mr Gladstone. His lips quiver with suppressed emotion; the voice and figure follow suit,—and these evidences of intense feeling communicate themselves with electric rapidity to his audience. He is intensely cosmopolitan. To substitute "Mohammedan" for "Englishman" in eloquent words used lately in describing the late Lord Ampthill: "It is an exceedingly rare thing for an ordinary Mohammedan, even of the better sort, thoroughly to realise the fact, however emphati-

cally he admits the theory, that Mohammedans and other races are of the same flesh and blood; and are amenable to the same passions and impulses. It is still rarer to find a Mohammedan who not only understands this to be the case, but proves his perception of it in practice. Syed Ahmed is so completely master of this art that national distinctions disappear before him, and rising above all accidental conditions of climate and race, of latitude, longitude, and ethnic idiosyncrasy, he gazes, by dint of his own power of judicious generalisation, upon an image which is none other than that of human nature itself. He preserves the patriotism and pride of the stock from which he is sprung, and has divested himself of all its prejudices." There was not another Mohammedan in India so fitted to take the lead in the great Mohammedan educational movement as he: no other Mohammedan gentleman possessed the ability, the eloquence, the great reputation, the cosmopolitanism, and the intense energy and perseverance of the subject of this sketch. Had it not been for his great efforts, the Mohammedan would have been far further behind the Hindu community as regards education than it now is; and if the movement increases with the rapidity which has hitherto characterised it, the Mohammedans will soon be abreast of the Hindus.

Amongst the mighty forces which have been silently changing the aspect of affairs in India during the last forty years, Syed Ahmed Khan's name will, to future generations, occupy a conspicuous place.

I have now traced his honourable and laborious career from his earliest years up to the present, and trust that the picture, though very imperfectly drawn, may act as a stimulant to the rising generation of our Indian gentry. I have shown how a native gentleman of high and distinguished family, but poor, educated only up to his nineteenth year, has raised himself from the lowest rung of the official ladder to the highest, and also educated himself, without the great advantage of a knowledge of English, to become, as he now is, the foremost Mohammedan of his day in India.

APPENDIX A.

IF IT BE REAL, WHAT DOES IT MEAN?".

In publishing a telegram from Bombay reporting the crowded and enthusiastic meeting recently held there for the purpose of establishing a memorial to Lord Ripon, a Calcutta paper headed the notice with the words, "If it be real, what does it mean?" This is doubtless a question which a good many in India are asking themselves. Is the enthusiasm that has everywhere met the Viceroy during his journey to Calcutta, and which shows no signs of abating, genuine, or is it fictitious? Is its object rather to do honour to Lord Ripon, or despite to the English community? Is the feeling, supposing it to be genuine, universal? or is it limited to certain sections of the country, such as Bengal—or to certain classes of the community? Finally, what has evoked it? Is it more than a passing current? or does there lie beneath it a deeper significance, which those who are resident in India for private ends, no less than those who are responsible for the administration of India, will do well to attempt to understand?

It is probable that the majority of Anglo-Indians will be inclined to regard the movement as superficial, and as being aimed rather at themselves than in honour of the retiring Viceroy. Others who have had opportuni-

ties, whether from long residence or from intimate relations with the people, of judging more accurately of their character, will scarcely be satisfied with this explanation. A few, unquestionably, will have had their attention arrested by a movement which, though more accentuated than they anticipated, is yet in a direction for which they were prepared. They will be at no loss to admit that, so far from being superficial, the demonstrations now being made throughout the country are significant of a profound change which for many years has been preparing itself, and which the incidents of Lord Ripon's administration, more particularly those connected with the passing of the Criminal Procedure Bill, have brought into the foreground of events. They will regard them as indicating the problem which has to be dealt with as the main problem at this present day of their common political life, by Europeans and natives alike. On the manner in which this problem is treated will depend, in their judgment, much of the future progress and development of British rule in this country. The object of these remarks is to explain the considerations which lead the last section of observers —of whom the writer is one—to regard the demonstrations we are witnessing at the present time as outward signs of the commencement of an era pregnant with the gravest consequences to the future of our rule in India.

It is impossible to attempt to understand the real meaning of what is passing under our eyes if we detach from it the events which have led up to it. To deal singly with any epoch in history, without taking account of the course of events which have preceded it, is a method obsolete and useless. The India of to-day, like the Indian of to-day, is the heir of a former time. To understand either, we have to ask, what are the circum-

stances in which the heir finds himself? what were those which surrounded his predecessors? and what, if any, change of treatment is necessitated by such difference in past and present circumstances as the inquiry may establish?

Speaking broadly, but not on that account inaccurately, the collapse of the East India Company, and the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, may be said to have formed the boundary-line between an old era and a new. The business of Englishmen in the first sixty years of this century was to bind together in one mass the separate and disintegrated atoms which at the commencement of the century represented the Indian body politic. Order and respect for law, the repression of individual caprice or licence, and the substitution of the method and harmony of a single rule for discordant and conflicting personal, religious, political, or tribal aims, was the work immediately before our predecessors. It was an era of war and force—a time of foreign politics, in which there was little or no leisure to attend to home affairs. During those sixty years were formed the powerful traditions which govern Indian administration at the present day. The great names which have exercised an overwhelming influence over the imagination and the views of successive generations of Anglo-Indians were enshrined in the annals of Indian history. A legend of British rule was cut in deep characters on the length and breadth of the land, and there grew round it an observance and veneration which raised it to the sanctity of a cult. But even during that troubled time forces were at work which, though unseen and unfelt at the moment, were gathering strength and rapidly developing as the era drew to an end. Education, freedom of discussion, equitable

laws and their rigorous application, contact with a civilised people, the opening up of a hitherto dark peninsula, could not fail to produce their natural effect. Had the people inhabiting the land been slow to understand, or careless to profit by, the advantages opened out to them, or so hardened to the former order of disorder as to be with difficulty led into the quiet paths of peace, the earlier epoch alluded to might have been prolonged. But it was far otherwise. The people, as a whole, are of exceptional intelligence, of singular versatility, quick to perceive and profit by material advantages, orderly, imitative, and sagacious. Hence, so soon as the work of force, which reached its highest and final development in the events of 1857, was completed, the unrestricted operation of the influences above alluded to began to have full play. Commerce, on an ever-extending scale, added itself to the civilising elements already at work; and of all civilising elements, commerce is probably the most powerful. A society, securely bound and compressed together during the events of the first half of the century, now entered into the possibility of a corporate life and continuous self-improvement and progress, and advanced with amazing rapidity towards the goal to which it was encouraged. The dry bones in the open valley—"very dry," as they may have seemed to the eye—were about to be instinct with life. Even at that earlier day there was a noise and a shaking, and the bones were coming together, bone to his bone. Though as yet there was no breath in them, the word had already issued, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live."

It may be urged that this picture is exaggerated—that there may have been much stir, but that there is little

real life. Proof may be demanded of the existence of what is here taken for granted. It will be asked, finally, why, if such a general change was occurring, Englishmen in India failed to be conscious of it?

To begin with the last question. At any time a great administrative service, whether it be that of the Napoleonic Prefecture or of the Indian Civil Service, is, from the nature of its existence, unwilling to recognise progress other than that which it has itself promoted and presided over. Still more is this the case when outward and visible signs give little indication of the maturity of the seed which is rapidly ripening underground. It is very natural and very reasonable to question the accuracy of assertions that great changes are taking place, when as yet those changes are in the earlier stages of accomplishment. In India there are several reasons to explain why the recognition of the organic change which has occurred should have been exceptionally difficult. So far as could be seen, it was mostly confined, for example, to isolated centres with which the mass of the English official world were rarely brought into contact. In outlying tracts or in provincial towns little of it met the eye. Native officials trained under the old school—the class in closest contact with members of the Civil Service—had little sympathy with the new ideas, even had they succeeded in understanding them. The very rapidity with which the empire was acquired, and the deep veneration with which the names of those associated with its earlier development and with the method of administration known as "a benevolent despotism" are regarded, blinded officials—the conditions of whose existence predisposed them to such blindness—to what was taking place about them. The large section of Indian society which is dominated by

military opinion, was averse to recognise an order of things which was profoundly incompatible with the notions of discipline and subordination inseparable from military habits of thought. Finally, the commercial and mercantile world is rarely inclined, or, were it inclined, has rarely the leisure, to raise its head from its desk, or to ask itself what is passing beyond the sombre precincts of the counting-house.

We come next to the criticism that the movement is greatly exaggerated. To those conversant with native society in the Presidency towns of India, or in such cities as Poona, Allahabad, or Lucknow, the change in native thought and native life is, for the most part, obvious. But even others who have more restricted means of observation, must be aware how greatly the habit of seeking an education in England has of late years extended. In remote districts where thirty years ago the Hindu of the old type lived quietly among his retainers, his son visits but occasionally the home which residence of several years in England has taught him to regard with distaste. Mohammedans are flowing in ever-increasing numbers to the English colleges and universities. The rapid development of railways is facilitating the interchange of ideas among all classes of the native community, and the beat of the engine is breaking down barriers which the voices of many missionaries were impotent to remove. Like the first flushings of dawn at the immediate advent of an Eastern day, a glow of enlightenment, still tremulous and tentative, but growing ever warmer and warmer as the horizon clears before it, is visible throughout the land. Religions, it has been said, are disused, not disproved. Civilisation, similarly, is of inhalation, not merely of instruction; and its progress in India is far more rapid than by any process of mere

education could have been attained. A vernacular literature, rough, crude, and in embryo no doubt, but full of energy and full of aspirations, is rapidly assuming very considerable proportions. Pamphlets on economic questions, such as that of Saiad Muhammad Husein on agricultural economy; on policy, as the pamphlet recently published by Sir Madhava Rao; or, more important still, on social and domestic reform, such as the writings of Mr Behramji Malabari,—are circulating broadcast about the country. The reports brought back by those who go to England of the consideration conceded to them by the English, and the contrast they find on their return, has created a profound conviction that the attitude of Englishmen in India towards them is local only, and is not shared by the mass of the English. With that conviction has come the desire to resist and to induce a change in an attitude believed to be humiliating and unauthorised. In a thoughtful article[1] which appeared in the 'Allygurh Institute Gazette' of the 25th November, the writer has dwelt much on this particular aspect of the case. His point is, that the nature of the difference between yesterday and to-day is, that yesterday the native respected authority only, whereas to-day, though he respects authority, no less he has learnt also to respect himself. Self-respect, or the sense of what is due to one's self, follows necessarily on the consciousness of exertion and improvement. The writer concedes to the English the entire credit of having, by their policy, conferred on the people of India this boon; but he holds that the boon is irrevocable, and has become a grave political force. Few will be found to deny the truth of Sir John Strachey's assertion that "the England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the Eng-

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 377.

land of to-day, than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon." Yet what in material affairs is so obvious, meets with absolute scepticism or angry denial in respect of moral, social, or intellectual advancement. Sir John Strachey, indeed, though he dealt immediately with the material side of the subject, was careful to add that India had "gone on, with a speed hardly surpassed in any country, steadily increasing in knowledge and in wealth, and in all the elements of progress." Many of us, however, on the contrary, seem to consider that the fruitful changes which have taken place around him in successive epochs of political development, have left the native of India simply as they found him; that the laws of evolution have not touched him; that he must remain, as he was of old, the primitive creature of prehistoric strata; and that, like his own immemorial elephant, he is at best but a monster of the slime, fitted only for splendid servitude. It is unnecessary to dwell further, however, on this part of the case. Those who are inclined to deny the great change alleged to have taken place, must be left to the operation of time; but not, it may be hoped, to that relentless logic which inevitably overtakes all who shut their eyes to accumulating dangers, and who refuse to be convinced that the storm is about to gather, until it has descended upon them and discomfited them.

The above, imperfectly as it may have been expressed, is the answer which the writer would be inclined to give to the question put in the paper above referred to—"If it be real, what does it mean?" It is real; and it means that while the English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times, and by the symmetry of the shrine, the pride of its own creation, in which it

lingers to offer incense to its past successful labours, the Indian mind has been marching on, eager and anxious to expand its own sphere of action, and to do what it, for its own part, has to do. Rapidly maturing under the influence of great facilities for communication, stimulated by more frequent contact with England, and encouraged by the opportunities afforded during successive years of profound peace, it has succeeded at length in awaking to the consciousness of its own powers and the assurance of its own success. The breath has come into the bones, and they are about to live and stand up upon their feet, an exceeding great army. It means that while the native mind is still in this mood, half day-dawn, half chaos, has occurred the catastrophe of March 1883. The sudden declaration of the English in India that they would recognise in the Indian nothing but simply a subject-race, has brought the issue clearly and without possibility of self-deception before all classes and all races in the country. The dry bones of the children of the captivity, their opponents have urged, shall not live, nor again stand up upon their feet. There shall be subordination; there shall be no citizenship. Nevertheless, the prophecy had said that the bones should live; that the spirit of their Maker should be in them; that He would place them in their own land; and that then they should know that He had spoken it and performed it. Hence the question on the one hand was—Are we to go on in our hitherto progress, or are we to desist? as on the other side the question must now be—Are we to maintain the stern traditions which have in past circumstances characterised our rule; or are we to recognise that those circumstances are in truth passing, and to cast about for the methods which, in the new order of affairs, may

be as successful in our hands for the furtherance of our rule in the country, as were the former methods in the former order of affairs in the hands of those predecessors of whom we are so proud?

On the answer to these two questions must depend the future of our rule in India. As to the first, there can be no doubt. The native mind will expand, native society will become more and more enlightened, and with enlightenment and expansion its demands will become more and more reasonable and more and more irresistible. No Mrs Partington will mop back that Atlantic. Are, then, the methods with which we are to control these new developments to be the same as those hitherto employed; or are we to seek to adapt ourselves to the new position, and recognise that the old traditions are unsuitable and insufficient to enable us to meet and guide the forces which there is no longer any possibility of denying? We have, in a word, to ask ourselves whether it is only the natives of India who have to be educated, or whether we ourselves have not much to forget and much to learn? Have we not ourselves to forget so much of the old system as made for mere repression? Have we alone of all men not to learn that as the times change we must change with them? It seems, indeed, but a truism to affirm that the genius of our nation in India must conform itself to the requirements of progressive days. The task of the present generation is unquestionably far more difficult and far more delicate than that which awaited their predecessors. To bind is easy; to unloose, inspire, and encourage in the conduct of a new departure, requires an infinite skill. The business of the last generation was to restrain; the problem which lies before that of the present day is to guide. The experiment of British rule in India, con-

ducted, as it must be, in conformity with those fundamental principles of equity and freedom which are the divine fire intrusted to the Anglo-Saxon race, and carried out as it equally must be in the presence of a free Parliament and a free press, is thus entering upon a most critical stage. The creative, adaptive, and plastic skill with which the Sclavonic races are exclusively credited, is what we now in India especially need; and time only can show whether we possess it—or whether, from the failure in this regard with which, among the nations of Europe, we are generally reproached, and from blind veneration of an old Olympus, with its demigods and its honoured myths, we are destined to bring affairs to such an *impasse* as to lead to events the gravity of which it is impossible to exaggerate. "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain," it is admitted, and to criticise the creed of our forefathers may seem presumptuous; but unless we choose, with the Samaritan, to be content with such truth as lingers among ancient hill-tops, we must submit to be searchers for that spirit of the time to which the present days are bringing us.

If the exposition here traced out is accurate, it may go far to explain the divergence of views and the want of sympathy which have been so painfully marked in the relations of the Viceroy and of the mass of the English in India. What was comparatively hidden from men whose eyes were dulled by daily gazing on the same scene, must have been more evident to a mind uncoloured by association with the traditions of a former day; fresh to India, though habituated to the study of Indian questions; trained in the public life of a free people, and accustomed to the expression and indication of the views and ways of thought which are inseparable from the advance of enlightenment; able,

finally, to take in the aspect of the present circumstances, untrammelled by personal memories of former days, or individual familiarity with an ancient order of ideas. Lord Ripon, if he could boast no practical experience of India, brought at least an eye unobscured by impressions received from them of old time, unclouded by the trite results of such limited personal experience as falls within the opportunities of most Englishmen in India. "Lookers-on," says the adage, "see most of the game;" and so far as the game is played between natives of India and Englishmen resident in India, Lord Ripon may be said, during the comparatively limited term of Viceregal office, to have been in the position of a looker-on. To him on arrival it may have seemed only too clear that a stage of progress had been reached which was unrecognised by most of those habituated to residence in the country. He would have discerned this, not from any superior insight, but simply from his position as an outsider, fresh to the scene and deeply interested in understanding and interpreting what was passing. The determined opposition to his policy among the English in India may in great part be because each has approached the question from an opposite quarter. It is very probably, in great part, not a difference so much of view as of point of view. A policy of self-development, of local self-help, of educational extension, of free trade, of recognising and conceding a generous sympathy to the aspirations he saw everywhere about him, must have seemed to the Viceroy as much the legitimate and irresistible outcome of the conditions which he diagnosed, as *stare super antiquas vias* seemed to his opponents to be still the highest wisdom. Is it not because of this fact—that what others did not or would

not recognise, Lord Ripon, from the vantage-ground of his standing-point, admitted and allowed—that the native mind has shown itself so conscious of his good-will towards it, and on the occasion of his departure has exhibited the extraordinary enthusiasm which is making even the dullest sleeper turn uneasily on his pillow? If this is not the true explanation, it would be curious to learn what other is true. That the explanation is reasonable, it has been the object of these remarks to show; that it is correct, we have the assurance of the best organs of the native press, which, if they do not trace, as has been here done, the philosophy of the movement, are unanimously in agreement as to its immediate cause. If a man will ask himself whether it is in the power of any individual to create an unbounded enthusiasm for which there exist no materials, —whether a mine can be fired before it has been laid,— he will have some idea of the unreasonableness of supposing that what is passing under our eyes is mere moonshine—that a *consensus* of Anglo-Indian opinion (even did it exist) is necessarily a final verdict—and that Lord Ripon is a mere dreamer and a visionary.

It may be contended that while there is truth in all this, and whatever the present Viceroy may claim in respect of truer insight than his countrymen, his methods and his practice, insomuch as they have precipitated events, deserve all that has been said against them. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*; and it will be denied that previous Viceroys have had less sympathy than Lord Ripon with the native mind, or have all failed to reckon up the situation. Lord Ripon, it must be answered, may have committed tactical errors, the responsibility of which must be shared by the experienced advisers who surrounded him. It is infinitely to be re-

gretted, however, that the real nature of the issues at stake has been obscured by the controversy raised over the merely collateral question of the Criminal Procedure Bill. The result has been unfortunate in two ways. It has enabled the extreme reactionary party to claim as their allies a large section of Englishmen in India who, while they may on this one question have agreed with them, are entirely opposed to them on the larger questions discussed in this paper. It has, in the next place, created a seeming chasm between the whole English community in India on the one side, and Lord Ripon with the native community on the other, which in truth has no existence, but which to the ordinary observer may seem to have been all that Lord Ripon has to show as the outcome of his tenure of office. As time passes, and as the infinite evil done by the agitators of 1883 is forgotten, it will probably be recognised that there was far less difference of opinion between the Viceroy and the more thoughtful body of his countrymen in India, than between that body and the outrageous tail to which unhappily it moved responsive. Be this, however, as it may, if what has been written in this paper is in any degree correct, it is but little, comparatively, that Lord Ripon could have done to restrain or to precipitate events. The incident of the Criminal Procedure Bill may no doubt have brought about abruptly, brutally, and of force, what would otherwise, in the ordinary course of events, have arrived in the consummation of time. But the time, in truth, was ripe; the hour of the new birth was but a narrow question. Whether it were by Lord Ripon or another, the charm which held the sleeper bound was to be broken, and the time for breaking it was at hand. The attitude, moreover, taken up by his opponents has thrown into relief

and has exaggerated what, calmly considered, has been the position of the Viceroy. If he seems more enthusiastic than any of his predecessors, it is because the violence of conflicting views has compelled him to emphasise his own. It is not that the sympathy of his predecessors with the natives has been less, but his own occasion more. It may indeed prove, however much we may regret the events of 1883, to have been matter of pure gain that the real situation has been so unequivocally exposed. Neither side, in future, can pretend to misunderstand the other. The problem has been unmistakably formulated in Lord Ripon's time; the solving of it, we now know, cannot be deferred, but must needs be worked out by his successors. It is as clear as the sun at noonday that no one now can put back the hand upon the dial. A reactionary policy (improbable at any time in India, unless the programme of successive English Cabinets, of either party, were to be abandoned, reversed, or repudiated) has now from the force of circumstances become, if persisted in, by far the greatest political danger to which our rule in India can be possibly exposed. Of all men in the world, Lord Dufferin, with that sagacity and insight into situations which constitute his chief claim to pre-eminence, is least likely to be blinded to the real nature of affairs. What methods he may adopt to further their possible development, it is not the business of this paper to discuss. He may point out to the natives that they have obligations as well as rights; that the *nidus* of all civil progress is the domestic hearth; and that their hearth is still dimmed and darkened, while the avenues which approach it are desecrated and defiled. He may seek to regulate, to restrain, and to remonstrate. He may be enabled to bring before the eyes of Englishmen a vision of the

time, in its relation to their duty in India, so imposing, so attractive, and withal so full of vital interest to each and every one of them, as shall induce them to admit that the hour has come to emulate, no longer merely to imitate, the genius of those who preceded them in the empire. But whatever he may do, on the success with which he meets in this endeavour will mainly depend the issue of his Indian administration. Among the most formidable obstacles to the success which the English community in India unquestionably wish him, is at present their own unwillingness to recognise the signs of the times, and that fateful inability to review their position which has betrayed them into conflict with his predecessor.

APPENDIX B.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE ALLYGURH.[1]

As the final result of his determination to do his utmost to benefit his country, and especially the Mohammedans of India, Syed Ahmed Khan decided to found a college. India, he considered, stood less in need of political than of social reform. Laws and institutions were of small importance compared with trained men. And while this was true of India as a whole, the need of education in his own community was more pressing still. Syed Ahmed had been profoundly touched by the

[1] By Theodore Beck.

ruin of the noble Mussulman families at the time of the Mutiny. He saw the remnant of this mighty race too proud and too prejudiced to adopt English education, and being left every day further behind in the race of life with the Hindu. A sullen despondency was spreading itself over the Mussulman community. Moulvies who depended for their livelihood on their knowledge of Persian, were supplanted by the English-knowing Bengali. Everywhere the decay of the Mohammedans in wealth and influence was marked—a fact not only deplorable in itself, but very dangerous to the peace of the empire. Could a community which saw itself thus fast losing ground, becoming every day more powerless, more poverty-stricken—a community which cherishes great traditions of a time not very long past, and which can point to the noblest buildings in India, palaces and tombs, as the trophies of its former empire—be expected to be enthusiastically loyal? To turn the tide of misfortune was the task Syed Ahmed set before himself. It seemed, it still seems, an almost impossible one; though the unexpected success that has attended his efforts may well awaken feelings of hope.

But while his first object, as the name of the college implies, was to benefit the Mohammedans, Syed Ahmed had at the same time a wider aim. He wished to introduce into India a new model of education. The Government system, while perhaps the only one open to Government to adopt, has manifest drawbacks. The training of the students from their earliest years is intellectual only. Manners, morals, and religion are left to take care of themselves, and in consequence fare badly. The boys live scattered throughout the town, separated by caste prejudices, and enjoying little of healthy school-life. The master's duty begins and ends with the class-

room. The whole thing is mechanical. The beautiful Eastern tradition, common alike to Hindu and Mussulman, of the parental relation between teacher and pupil, is lost sight of. The love of learning for its own sake, a love which still draws many poor students from distant parts of the Indian continent to the old schools of Arabic and Sanscrit, gives place to the sordid ambition of passing an examination and obtaining a clerkship in a Government office. For this purpose the most abject system of cramming and learning by rote is adopted, at the end of which the intellect itself is but little benefited. Meanwhile manners have suffered a marked deterioration. The student thinks his knowledge of English justifies his looking down on the old Eastern gentleman. The latter, for the dignity of his bearing and the charm of his courtesy, excels anything we can show in modern England. Our system has as yet chiefly affected the lower classes, and the students are apt to assert their newly found independence by an offensive absence of politeness. The result of this is to embitter the race prejudices which are the bane of India. Morals, too, are not attended to, and very little is done to check the vices of lying and deceit. We do not mean to deny the great benefits that have arisen from the noble effort of Government to educate the people of India. We wish solely to point out some of the deficiencies in the system which led Syed Ahmed to base his college on a different principle from that adopted in the ordinary Government institution. He determined to attach to his college a good boarding-house, to subject the students to careful supervision, and to give Mohammedan boys religious instruction.

In order to carry out his project of founding a college many requisites were necessary, two of the most essen-

tial being money and power of organisation. The latter Syed Ahmed brought in abundance; the former was wanting. How to obtain it? There were wealthy men in the community, but they were blind to the benefits of English education—nay, more, they were bitterly opposed to it. So insuperable, therefore, did this difficulty appear, that the scheme was laughed at as chimerical. His friends thought him a madman, his enemies a devil. There were some who supposed he was Antichrist. Nevertheless he prepared a book for subscriptions, wrote down his own name and his son's, and collected what money he could. Government, advised by Sir John Strachey, gave him a large piece of waste land. At length, in May 1875, a master, Mr Siddons, was engaged, and a few small boys, the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen, personal friends of Syed Ahmed, were collected to receive instruction from him. The youthfulness of the institution may be realised from the fact that some of these original pupils are still reading in the college. When Mr Siddons arrived, he had no notion of the magnitude of Syed Ahmed's intentions. He found the Syed encamped on the jungle that Government had given him, and was amazed when he drew out from a box the plans of a magnificent building which he said it was his hope to erect.

At the age of fifty-eight Syed Ahmed had now commenced the great work of his life, by which his name will be handed down to posterity as a benefactor of his countrymen. From that time to this the old man has stuck to his object with indomitable pluck and untiring energy. Little by little, by a hundred devices, he has collected money. Through the press and on the platform he has advocated his cause. And although, up to the present, not more than a quarter of the required building has

been erected, what has been done is wonderful, and is full of promise for the future.

The buildings, when complete, will form a large quadrangle, whose interior dimensions will be 1004 feet by 576 feet. The size of this may be best realised by comparing it with the quadrangle of an English college. This will be divided in two by a row of buildings down the middle—a hall, library, museum, and lecture-rooms. Adjacent to these, at either end, will be a group of class-rooms. At the corners will be two dining-halls, and two mosques, one for the Sunnis and one for the Shias.

In describing what has been already done, we will take the reader through an imaginary tour of inspection, stopping here and there to express such thoughts as the place suggests.

The first thing we notice is a handsome stone wall enclosing the hundred acres or so that constitute the college grounds. This wall is built in sections seven or eight feet long, and on every section a name is engraved. The name is that of the donor of the section. A section costs Rs. 20. This plan of inscribing the name of a subscriber on the building he has erected has been adopted throughout. It has a double advantage. It acts as an incentive to the giver, and it invests the place with associations; the more so as many of the names are of men who will be remembered in history. If you walk round the wall you will find written in the graceful curves of the Persian character the names of people from all parts of India, of Englishmen, of Englishwomen who have never visited the country, and even of Hindustani ladies who pass their lives behind the *purda*. The wall, when finished—it is now about half subscribed for—will thus be, as it were, a long scroll of the names of the supporters and well-wishers of the institution.

Within the wall, surrounded by their own gardens, are three bungalows occupied by the Englishmen on the staff—the Principal, the Professor of English Literature, and the Head-master. Driving past two of them, we enter the college grounds and come upon a large straggling bungalow, where the school classes are for the present held. Syed Ahmed's institution is called a college, but in England we should call it a school and college combined. Both are equally needed by the Mohammedan community, and it is difficult to say which is as yet the more important. The ages of the students range from seven to twenty-three. There are at present 215 students in the school department and 40 in the college. Of these there are 70 Hindus, 184 Mohammedans, and one native Christian; 158 are boarders.

Next we come to six small bungalows, containing each four rooms, in which the Hindu boarders reside. Farther to the left is the house of the resident native doctor. Ahead of us is the building of the Siddons Union Club, the students' debating society, named after the first Principal of the College. The club contains a debating room, and rooms for a library and newspapers. It is founded on the model of the Cambridge Union. Debates are held twice a-month in English, and once a-month in Hindustani. The students take to the art of public speaking with zest—although the Mussulman, as contrasted with the Bengali, boasts a preference for the sword rather than the tongue. At the foundation of the club an interchange of greetings with the Cambridge Society took place The following message was sent from Allygurh to Cambridge:—

"The President of the Siddons Union Club of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College presents his compliments to the President of the Cambridge University

Union Society, and begs to inform him that the Cambridge University Union Society has given birth to a similar, though at present small, Society in the far East. He invites the sympathy of members of the ancient and flourishing society at Cambridge for the youthful club founded by men who, though different in race, are citizens of the same great empire. The creed of Allygurh is, that the relationship of Englishman and Indian should be that of brothers. He hopes that if any member of the C.U.U.S. should visit Allygurh he will experience a practical exemplification of that aim."

To this the following reply was received :—

"At the first private business meeting of this term, the following resolution was proposed by the President of the Society (Mr W. Howard Stables, Trinity College), and seconded by Mr J. Austen Chamberlain, Trinity College, and carried with one dissentient :—

"'That the Cambridge University Union Society desires to express its satisfaction that a Society based on the same principles as itself has been founded at Allygurh by one of its ex-Presidents ; and as a means of displaying its sense of the brotherhood which exists between all subjects of our sovereign, and also of the close tie that binds the two Societies together, herein sends its heartfelt sympathy and congratulation to the President and members of that Society.'"

It is the wish of Syed Ahmed Khan to make as intimate as possible the connection between his college and the University of Cambridge, and it is his hope that some day the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College may be formally affiliated to the University.

Leaving the Union, we pass round a large bed of roses, to the main building of the college. We ascend some

steps that lead on to a semicircular verandah, and walk into the chief lecture-room. Let into the wall are two slabs of marble, stating, the one in English and the other in Persian, that the cost of the room was defrayed by two Nawabs of Hyderabad, who erected it in honour of their uncle, the "Nawab Mahomed Rafi Uddin Khan Bahadur Namwar jang Umdat-ud-Dowlah Uamdat-ul-Mulk Shams-ud-Dowlah Shams-ul-Mulk Shams-ul-Umara, Amir-i-Kabir, in connection with the science of astronomy, of which he was up to the last a zealous student."

On each side of this lecture-room are four others, half of which contain the names of great supporters of the college, the other half bearing vacant slabs ready for others who may come forward. The four men whose names are here preserved are: Maulvi Sami Uliah Khan Bahadur, C.M.G., who accompanied Lord Northbrook to Egypt, Syed Ahmed's right-hand man; Raja Syed Baker Ali Khan, C.I.E., a great Shia; Koer Lutf Ali Khan, member of a great Rajput family who were some generations ago converted to Islam; and Maulvi Mahdi Ali, finance-secretary of the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad.

Adjoining this block of buildings are two more lecture-rooms in honour of the last-mentioned gentleman.

We now enter the boarding-house, which, as at an English college, forms the main part of the quadrangle. It is built of red brick, and consists of rows of rooms, with a corridor in front supported on beautiful Saracenic arches, and approached by steps. As yet not quite half one quadrangle has been built, while the other has been enclosed with a temporary erection to accommodate students until money can be collected for the permanent building. What has been built, however, has a most pleasing architectural effect, which is height-

ened by elegant gardens and fine old trees. A set of rooms consists of a sitting-room 16 feet square, and a bedroom half the size. They are high and airy, and will compare favourably with the rooms at Oxford and Cambridge. Those who are familiar with Eastern houses will understand that to live in these clean and commodious apartments is in itself an education. As in England, it is a first lesson in decoration for the student to furnish his room, except that here it teaches more, for the main article of furniture in a purely Indian house is the carpet. In the students' rooms here, large pictures of the Queen and the Prince of Wales are conspicuous.

Every set of rooms has above it a stone tablet inscribed with the name of the donor, each set costing Rs. 1500. Among the names of Mohammedan landlords and Hindu rajas we find two English gentlemen, Mr C. A. Elliott, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of Assam, and the Hon. W. W. Hunter, member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Thus the very stones of his building bear witness to the aspiration of Syed Amed Khan, that Englishmen and natives should work side by side as brothers. The fact here made conspicuous, that the Indians have been helped in their own enterprise by the private generosity of Englishmen, cannot but exert a loyal influence on the youths who are brought up within the college walls. A very different political atmosphere from that of Calcutta is indeed observable in Allygurh. Loyalty to a united empire is inculcated as an active sentiment, and among that people—the Mussulmans—who naturally most dislike our rule.

Walking along the corridor we come to the Salar Manzil or dining-room of the first-class boarders. This is named after the great Sir Salar Jang, who was a warm

supporter of the college, giving it Rs. 10,500 from his own pocket, and an estate worth Rs. 1200 a-year. His untimely death was a great blow not only for the college but for the whole Mohammedan community. The room is made use of for dinners on important occasions. When the present Nawab Salar Jang visited the college there was a dinner-party here of fifty people, half English and half Mohammedan. Speeches were given, and the proceedings were characterised by hearty and friendly intercourse between Englishman and Eastern. Sometimes, too, there are college feasts. There was one when the cricket team returned victorious from a tour in the Panjab. There was another when some return matches were played, and the college was full of students from other places. There was a third when a student returned from England, where he had been to finish his education and join the Bar. It is only in a community where caste does not prevail that such entertainments can occur, and hence they are not found in other Indian colleges.

At the Salar Manzil there is a gate which leads us out of the quadrangle. Here we face a large well called the *Chah Akhwanus Safa*, or well of true brethren. The cost was defrayed by thirty-two men, each of whom gave Rs. 50. Their names are inscribed on a stone tablet, last of all coming "their servant, Syed Ahmed." The supporters of the college are chiefly the followers of Syed Ahmed in his religious, political, and social reforms. They are a comparatively small body of men, but are spread over a large tract of country, and many are of considerable influence. The students of the college come from places as distant as Hyderabad, Mysore, Bombay, Kathiawar, Karrachi, Peshawar, Calcutta, and Chittagong. Little boys are brought by

their fathers railway journeys of four or five days and left at the boarding-house. Once two came with an English governess. All this argues a great future for the institution when the trying days of its infancy are past. At present, although there is a marked decrease in the opposition, the great bulk of the Mohammedan community has not been reconciled to the movement. The political importance of effecting the revolution initiated by Syed Ahmed Khan in the most martial and most united people in India, it is difficult to exaggerate. Government has recognised it by giving an annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 12,000, and by the personal support of three successive Viceroys. The confidence felt by Government is also manifested by its sending several wards of Court to be educated here.

From the well we may walk into the Muir Park, passing two small palm-trees brought from Arabia, and re-enter the quadrangle by a gate which will, when finished, be the main entrance. The money for this was collected especially for the purpose of founding a memorial to Syed Ahmed Khan. We may now proceed to the centre of the quadrangle and inspect a large temporary building, to be called when built the Strachey Hall, in honour of Sir John Strachey. In this all grand meetings will be held, as well as examinations. An effort is now being made to raise subscriptions and build it. The total cost will be Rs. 50,000; and it is hoped that a hundred people will be found who will each give Rs. 500. Here is placed the foundation-stone laid by Lord Lytton in 1877. Under the stone are deposited a copy of the address given to Lord Lytton, enclosed in a bottle, some coins, and a short account of the ceremony engraved on a copper plate.

On either side of this building are the foundations of the Nizam Museum and Lytton Library.

We have now taken our reader round all the chief buildings, and may finish our tour with a visit to the cricket-field. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College is famous for its cricket. Its eleven has beaten the best native teams in Upper India. In November they went on a tour into the Panjab, playing at Meerut, Amritsar, Lahore, Meean Meer, Jalandhar, and Delhi—being beaten only once by a team of British officers. Several matches have also been played with varying success against the English eleven of Allygurh. The last two were characterised by a most agreeable feature that is quite novel in India: the ladies and gentlemen of the station invited the students to lunch with them in a large tent on the ground. By such means, and not by violent agitation, the relations of Englishman and native can be greatly improved. The table at which the students sat was presided over by Mrs Aikman, wife of the Judge of Allygurh. Syed Ahmed sat at another; and as he observed the kindness shown by Mrs Aikman towards the boys of his nation, his heart glowed with the hope of a happier day for India. He rose after lunch and made a short speech. He said that every nation performed certain ceremonies on the day that it took to be the New Year's Day. He thought that on the New Year's Day of the natives of India ceremonies should be performed showing love and goodwill between them and the English. He therefore regarded this day as their New Year's Day. He intended to keep alive the memory of Mrs Aikman in the college by founding a gold medal, named after her, to be given every year to the best cricketer of the season.

We left our reader in the cricket-field. We will now drive him out of the grounds, through a gate erected by Nawab Sir Faiz Ali Khan, late Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Jeypore, and hope that the next time we invite him to inspect the buildings of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College we may be able to point them out to him in a state of completion.

THE END.